THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE KURDISH NATION:

A CASE STUDY ON THE KURDISH PERIODICAL *HAWAR* (1932-1943)

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Kürt Ulusunun Söylemsel İnşasında Dilin Rolü: Kürtçe Dergi Hawar Üzerine Bir İnceleme (1932-1943)

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ABSTRACT

The Role of Language in the Discursive Construction of the Kurdish Nation: A Case Study on the Kurdish Periodical *Hawar* (1932-1943)

This thesis aims to study the basis and repercussions of using language as a political tool by Kurdish nationalist elites and the components of the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation among which the language is, claimed by this study to be, the leading one. The study focuses on Kurdish intellectuals who gathered around the journal called *Hawar* (1932-1943) in Syria which was under the French Mandate Regime then. Celadet Bedirxan, the owner of the journal, and his comrades, announced their aims of promoting the Kurdish language, which included spreading reading and writing in Kurdish and ensuring the rebirth of popular literature. Throughout the publication period of the journal they devoted their energy to the promotion of the Kurdish language and the revival of Kurdish culture. They set the standard for written Kurmancî; both in the form of a Latinized alphabet and grammatical rules which were prescribed by Celadet. The prescribed grammatical rules in which most of the contributions were written became the Kurmancî literary standard which was later followed by the successors.

This thesis will discuss the conceptual and discursive bases underlining the significance given to Kurdish Language by Kurdish elites. It will be argued that their effort can be both read as an attempt to construct a collective national identity in the name of which Kurdish people would be mobilized and also as an attempt to create a social space for resistance against the oppression.

ÖZET

Kürt Ulusunun Söylemsel İnşasında Dilin Rolü:

Kürtçe Dergi *Hawar* Üzerine Bir İnceleme (1932-1943)

Bu tez, Kürt entelektüellerince, dilin politik bir araç olarak kullanılmasının sebep ve sonuçlarını araştırmayı ve aynı zamanda Kürt dilinin Kürt ulusunun söylemsel inşasında oynadığı rolü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın odak noktası, 1932-1943 yılları arasında, o zamanlar Fransız sömürgesi olan Suriye'de yayınlanan ve Kürt entelektüellerini bir araya getiren *Hawar* Dergisi'dir. Derginin sahibi Celadet Bedirxan ve arkadaşları Kürt dilinin gelişmesini amaçladıklarını ve bunun için Kürtçe okuma yazmayı yaygınlaştırmayı ve popüler edebiyatın yeniden doğmasını sağlamayı hedeflediklerini açıklayarak derginin yayın süresi boyunca Kürt dilinin gelişimi ve Kürt kültürünün canlanması için çaba harcadılar.

Bu çalışma, Kürt entelektüelleri tarafından Kürtçeye verilen önemin altında yatan kavramsal ve söylemsel esasları irdeleyecek ve aynı zamanda entelektüellerin Kürt dilini geliştirme girişimini hem Kürt halkını harekete geçirecek ortak bir ulusal kimlik oluşturma hem de baskı ve inkâra karşı bir direniş alanı oluşturma çabası olarak tartışacaktır. Bu tartışmanın dayanağı; dilin hem toplumsal direniş için, hem de ulusal taleplerin meşrulaştırılması için bir temel oluşturduğu fikridir.

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INTRODUCTION

"Hawar dengê zanînê ye. Zanîn xwe nasîn e, xwe nasîn ji me re rêya felat û xweşiyê vedike. Her kesê ko xwe nas dike; dikare xwe bide nas kirin."[1]

On May 15, 1932, a group of Kurdish intellectuals led by Celadet Bedirxan, published the first issue of a journal named, *Hawar* (1932-1943), announcing that they would promote the Kurdish Language since they believed that "Language was the main condition for national existence". Given the declared goals of its editor, *Hawar* aimed to make the following contribution to Kurdish culture and identity: the dispersal of the Kurdish alphabet; the classification and publication of Kurdish grammar, a comparative study of the different dialects of the Kurdish language; the publications of Kurdish classics and folklore; the definition of the characteristics of traditional Kurdish music; the publication of ethnographic studies on Kurdish habits and customs; the publication of studies on the history and geography of Kurdistan. The widespread instruction of the Kurdish language in Latin characters to the Kurds remained the principal objective.

Anthony Smith, claims that in all nationalist movements intellectuals play an important role. [2] According to Smith, intellectuals and professionals not only revive customs and languages, they rediscover history and (re-)establish ceremonies and traditions; they also give these activities and rediscoveries a national political meaning they never previously possessed.[3]

Referring to this claim, I intend to find out the way Kurdish elites contributed to the construction of Kurdish national identity. The role of language in the discursive construction of the Kurdish

[1] Hawar is the voice of knowledge. Knowledge is to know oneself; knowing oneself leads us to the independency and fairness. Everyone who knows himself/herself can make himself/herself known as well.
[2] Anthony Smith, National Identity, London, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141
[3] Anthony Smith, *National Identity, London*, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141

Nation is my primary interest. Therefore, the aims of my thesis are two-fold. I aim to study the basis and repercussions of using language as a political tool by Kurdish nationalist elites and the components of the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation among which I think language is the leading one. In order to avoid this becoming too wide subject, I will mainly concentrate on the period of the publication of the Kurdish Journal *Hawar* (1932-1943). The reason why I chose this period and periodical is that I believe this periodical set the basis of a writing system for the Kurdish Language which helped to lead the language in becoming 'a proper one' which can serve nationalistic claims. Compared to their predecessors, Hawar Cadre put forth a more planned language movement and they were more successful in putting this plan into practise. I also believe that in order to have a better understanding of the discussions carried out contemporarily, *Hawar* is a good starting point since it laid the foundation of the written Kurdish Language currently used and all discussions carried out at present refer to those carried out on Hawar's pages. In order to understand any kind of language policy, there is a need to look at it from within a broader framework. There are many beliefs about language that make it a desirable feature to include in all sorts of movements, especially in nationalistic ones. I will regard these basic attitudes towards language in connection with Celadet Bedirxan and his comrades' attempts to promote the Kurdish Language to a language which meets the needs of the Modern Age. I also believe that those intellectuals were trying to establish a resistance form and their main weapon was the language. My point is that the struggle for a nation against oppression occupies a linguistic, discursive space in which language becomes a political grammar of social resistance. Therefore the significance given to the Kurdish Language by Kurdish elites can be read both as an attempt to construct a common national identity around which Kurdish people would clamp together and struggle in the name of it and this would also create a social space for resistance.

By establishing a comprehensive analysis of the issues related to the role of language as a tool in constructing the Kurdish national identity, I hope to make a contribution to the debate about the role of linguistic movements in establishing a viable national identity and also forming a social resistance. I also hope to find a way for a better understanding of the discussions carried out among contemporary Kurdish intellectuals as well.

I will concentrate on analyzing a variety of genres published on Hawar's pages. I will also have a look at the journal *Ronahî* which came out between the years 1942-1945 by almost the same cadre as a supplement of *Hawar*. My study bases its discussions and draws its conclusions from the detailed analyses of first hand documents which in my case will be mainly the Journal *Hawar*. These discussions and drawn conclusions will be more meaningful when they are read referring to other periodicals previously published, so I will also try to base my discussion on a cross-reading of these periodicals with *Hawar*.

The first issue of *Hawar* came out on May 15, 1932. The journal continued until its fifty-seventh issue which was released on August 15, 1943. The journal wasn't published perpetually. At first, the journal was issued twice a month but after a while, the time between the publications of the two issues expanded. The first twenty-three issues were published in both Latin and Arabic script. Then with the twenty-forth issue it started to be published only in Latin script. The main language used in the journal was Kurdish and from the very beginning, there were also some articles in French. In the First and the twentieth issues there also appeared an article written in Arabic. The dominant Kurdish dialect in the periodical is Kurmancî, alongside Soranî. The articles in Soranî can be seen up until the eighteenth issue more often and then they become rarer. The dialect of Dumilî appears only in issue twenty-three with an article from Celadet Bedirxan on the features of this dialect.

The word ‘Hawar’ means ‘call’, ‘cry’, ‘cry for help’ or ‘call for help’. When you say ‘Hawar’ it means there is a danger or a big sorrow or you are complaining about the situation or calling for help.

The journal *Ronahî* came out in April 1, 1942 as a supplement of *Hawar* and ended in March 1945 leaving twenty-eight issues behind. The journal came out monthly with a few exceptions. The word ‘Ronahî’ means ‘light’ or ‘illumination’

The journal *Hawar* was reprinted by Firat Cewerî and published by NÛDEM Publishing House in Stockholm in 1998 and the journal *Ronahî* was reprinted by Rênas Jiyan and published by Belkî Publishing House in Diyarbakır in 2010. I relied on these two reprints in my study.

As mentioned previously, for this study, the role of language in the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation is my primary interest. I chose to look at the journal *Hawar* in this context. Before laying down my findings which I deal with in the fourth chapter in detail, I felt that I had to draw a theoretical and conceptual framework for my study. That is why chapter one seeks to investigate the role language plays in the construction of a nation. This chapter reviews the literature on nationalism debates and the relationship between language and nation with respect to both civic and cultural nationalism. I then look at Language Policies regarding modernization in the nation building process. This chapter also attempts to display the language planning process with regards to Einar Haugen’s framework. In this chapter, I also discuss the role which the elites play in the nation building process to try to understand those intellectuals who wrote for *Hawar* in a deeper way.

In order to gain a better understanding of my primary concern I also knew that I had to supply the study with a historical background therefore chapter two is devoted to this. The first part of Chapter Two, which provides a historical background of the discursive construction of the

Kurdish Nation, examines the specific case of Kurdish nationalism within the context of the late Ottoman Empire and evaluates the existing historiography relating to the evolution of Kurdish nationalism. For this part, I have mostly based my analysis on secondary sources, which focused on this issue alongside some periodicals as the primary sources. In the second part of chapter two, I look for the emergence and the development of the Kurdish Press up to the Journal *Hawar* relying mainly on secondary sources. In the last part of this chapter, I look for the role of language in the discursive construction of early Kurdish nationalism, specifically the process up to *Hawar*. For this purpose, I scanned five periodicals, which I believe were the most important among those emerged before the journal *Hawar*. By doing a comprehensive reading of the pages of these periodicals, I tried to find out about the emergence of Kurdish nationalism and the role that language played throughout this process. I started with the newspaper *Kurdistan* (1898-1902) which was the first newspaper in Kurdish, and then I focused on *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (1908-1909) in order to find out about the ambiance after the announcement of the Constitution in 1908. The journals *Roj-î Kurd* (1913) and *Hetaw-î Kurd* (1913-1914) were also worth a comprehensive reading owing to their strong emphasis on the importance of language. Finally, looking through the journal *Jîn* (1918-1919) was important to find out how WWI and Wilson's principles affected Kurdish intellectuals' discourse after the war. Except *Hetaw-î Kurd* I have the reprints of these periodicals about which I gave information in my thesis' bibliography.

Chapters three, four and five constitute the main body of the thesis regarding the role of language in the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation with respect to the Kurdish periodical *Hawar*. Chapter three, gives a look on Celadet Bedirxan's life and the process which led him to the decision of publishing the journal and devoting the rest of his life to improving the Kurdish Language. It then displays an overview on the story and content of *Hawar* and also other

contributors to *Hawar*. I believed that providing such a background would make chapter four, which is the centre for the main body of this study, more comprehensible.

Chapter four, assesses the footprints of linguistic nationalism carried out by the cadre of the periodical *Hawar* and the intellectuals of that time. This chapter aims to display the clues which led me to the idea that the intellectuals of that time advocated the building of a national identity mainly through language. All fifty-seven issues published were read in a detailed way and a comprehensive analysis was done via the prose and the poets published in the periodical. I also scanned the secondary sources which focused on *Hawar* and referred to them where needed.

In chapter five, relying on my comprehensive reading through the pages of *Hawar,* I briefly discuss some of the components of Kurdish Nationalism other than language, through references to remarkable statements in different issues of the periodical. I think this chapter will provide a better understanding of the contribution of *Hawar* to the discursive construction of Kurdish Nation.

While constructing chapter four and five I tried to refer to the other periodicals analyzed in chapter two since I believed a cross-reading of these periodicals with *Hawar* would supply the study with a deeper perception of the early discursive construction of the Kurdish nation.

Finally, the study ends with a conclusion that hopes to draw together the main points raised in this study.

Before I begin my analysis, I would like to make a side note about the Kurdish language. As an Indo-European language descending from Median-Avestic origin, Kurdish belongs to the north-western group of Iranian languages. Although various dialects of the Kurdish language exist, there are fundamental distinguishing characteristics that appeal to all of them. This consistency

can be explained by the assumption that the dialects are derived from an ancient and powerful basic language; the Median. In addition to the major two dialects of Northern and Southern Kurdish, which are also called Kurmancî and Soranî respectively, there is the Zaza dialect- also called Dimilî or Kirmanckî by Kurds- which is spoken in the extreme northwest between Diyarbakir and Erzincan, and the Goranî dialect which is spoken in South Kurdistan by Kakeyis near Taug, some of the Zengene near Kifrî, and the Bacelan near Xaneqîn. In Iran, Hewraman tribes settled in the main ridge of the Zagros west of Sine together with some of their neighbours forming a Goranî-speaking wedge between Sulaimaniya and Ardelan.

I believe that this information on Kurdish language would give a better understanding to the discussions, carried out especially in chapter four, which focuses on the dialect politics of *Hawar*. Moreover, I should also add that the development of the Kurdish Language as a core-marker of Kurdish nationality is incapacitated due to the division of Kurds into different regions via political and physical boundaries[4], as Chapter four will briefly mention that the Kurdish Language's major dialects have been passed through different standardization processes and therefore different writing systems have developed.

[4] Kurdistan, the land of Kurds, is mainly divided into four parts and these parts contemporarily refer to Eastern Turkey (Turkish Kurdistan), Northern Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan/Federative Kurdistan), North-Western Iran (Iranian Kurdistan) and Northern Syria (Western Kurdistan).

PART A Theoretical and Conceptual Framework and Historical Background

Chapter I Theoretical and Methodological Framework

With this chapter, I aim to draw a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. Therefore, this chapter seeks to find out the role of language in the construction of a nation and it discusses the role of elites in the nation building process.

1. Nationalism and Language

To focus on how language resources are used to mobilize people or a nation for a certain cause, looking at the literature about the relationship between nation, people, and language is a necessity.

Language is a primary symbol of cultural identity and in defining this cultural identity as a national identity; it gains a political importance as an 'actual' identifier. Language is a basic component of the nation-building process with its independency from time and space; it is believed to constitute a bridge between the past and the future of a nation. [5] Rupert Emerson has defined a nation as "a community of people which believes itself to be a natural unity", since they seem to "share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and that they have a common destiny for the future". [6] Although, there have been a lot definitions about nationalism which will be mentioned below, for me, Umut Özkırımlı's definition would be a good starting point; "Nationalism, is a discourse that shapes our conscious and helps us to interpret the world, that is

[5] Elçin Aktoprak, "Ulusun Tahayyülünde Anadili," *Anadili Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı-2* (30-31 Mayıs 2009), Ankara: Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 2010, pp.181-195

6 Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: the Rise to Self-Assertion of Africa of African and Asian Peoples, Boston: Beacon Press, 1962, pp.92-96 (cited by* Paul White, *Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers?*, New York: Zed Books, 2000, p. 3)

to say it is nationalism that determines our collective identity, it is a way of perception that guides our daily discourse, behaviours and attitudes." [7]

1. 1. Nationalism Debates

Attempting to understand the development of nationalism, it is necessary to have a look at the discussions occuring among scholars of nationalism. The discussions are based around the question of: What are the origins of nations and nationalism?

Theories of Nationalism are approached under three broad categories: Primordialism, Modernism and Ethno-symbolism.

The common denominator of the primordialists is their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations, that of the ethno-symbolists is the stress they place in their explanations on ethnic pasts and cultures; finally, that of the modernists is their conviction in the modernity of nations and nationalism. [8]

Primordialism suggests that nationalism has deep roots in human associational life. It is the idea that nations were 'natural' and 'given' historical units. While a nation may lay dormant, go through Golden Ages, and decline, it is an ever present actor on the stage of history. This might be described as the nationalists' view of the nation, the starting point of traditional 'patriotic histories'. For the primordialist, the past determines the present: nations have existed since time immemorial and they are a natural part of human existence, as sight of speech.[9]

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7 Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.15

[8] Ahmet Tolga Turker, *Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds*, Dissertation, in the Department of Political Science in the McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 33

9 Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.81-87

Modernism is another dominant paradigm among the theories of nationalism. Ernest Gellner pioneered this angle and the modernist theme was taken up by writers, such as Eric Hobsbawn, Tom Nairn, John Breuilly and Benedict Anderson.[10]

According to modernists, in old ages the economic, politic and social conditions which would lead to nationalism did not exist. These conditions could only exist in modern ages, in other words; nations only became a sociologic necessity at the age of nationalism. It is the nationalism that creates nations.[11]

This perspective asserts that nations and nationalism have only existed for, more or less, the last 200 years, and are products of specific modern processes, such as capitalism, industrialism, the bureaucratic state, urbanization and secularism.[12] Thus, while individual writers stressed particular dynamics, such as 'industrial culture' for Gellner, the modern state for Breuilly and, in the case of Anderson, a combination of factors including 'print capitalism' and a revolution in the conception of time, the common denominator between modernists is their assumption of the historical 'novelty' of 'nations and nationalism'. Therefore, the nationalist political argument as characterized by Breuilly signifies following 'assumptions' first; there exists a unique nation, second; its interests and values take priority over all other interests and third; it must be as independent as possible, is qualitatively different and discontinues from pre-modern ethnic communities.[13]

Breuilly divides the national movements, according to their targets, into three groups; separatists, reformists and integrationists. Then he looks into the movement by questioning if they are against

10 Ahmet Tolga Turker, *Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds*, Dissertation, the Department of Political Science, McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 34

[11] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.55

[12] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.35

[13] Ahmet Tolga Turker, *Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds*, Dissertation, the Department of Political Science, McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p.34

a state or another political organization. With regards to the function of the nationalist movements Breuilly points out three functions: Cooperation, mobilization and legitimacy. Cooperation is, for common interest, uniting the elites who are opposed to the state for different reasons; mobilization is providing the participation of the groups left out of political progress to support the movement; legitimacy is legitimating the movement's target. [14]

Of all the recent modernist theorists of nationalism, the one widely quoted is the late Ernest Gellner. Gellner elaborated a theory of nationalism and its development, focusing on the relationship between nationalism, culture and the industrialization process. He is ruthlessly unsentimental about nations, which he sees as products of nationalism itself.

> Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent . . . political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures; that is reality.[15]

For Gellner, nationalism is impossible, unnecessary, and virtually unimaginable in agrarian societies.[16] Using a contrast between traditional and modern society Gellner provides a basically functionalist explanation of the social and economic need for cultural homogeneity, based on what he terms 'high culture', in a new industrial society.[17]

It is worth noting at length Gellner's argument that nationalism involves the generalization of a 'high culture'. That is to say, the culture of elite groups, especially their language and literacy, spreads and replaces, or at least supplements, other 'folk' cultures sufficiently to create a certain

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[14] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.139
[15] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.48/49
16 Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, p.33
[17] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.167

ideological unity surrounding the idea of nation. For Gellner, nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent. It is also a fundamental feature of the modern world since in most of human history political units were not organized along nationalist principles. Nationalism became a sociological necessity only in the modern world. Gellner and other proponents of this line of reasoning argue that the late industrial society is going to be one in which nationalism persists, but in a muted, less virulent form.[18]

Like Gellner, Benedict Anderson stresses the way cultural changes are brought about by socio-economic change – in this case capitalism, or rather the combination of capitalism and the revolution in communication which he terms 'print-capitalism'. New ways of imagining abstract communities are made possible and these form the underpinning of the emergence of modern nationalism. The idea of the nation as an 'imagined community' has formed much of the common sense of the analysis of nationalism over the past two decades. Benedict Anderson defined a nation as "an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". Anderson argues that the nation 'is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion'[19] "They are limited for even the biggest nations have finite boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. They are sovereign in so far as no dynastic monarchy can claim authority over them, in the modern period."[20]

[18] Ahmet Tolga Turker, *Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds*, Dissertation, Department of Political Science, McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 60

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2006 P.7-8

[20] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London: Verso, 2006 P.7-8

Anderson rejected the ‘invention’ idea because of its insinuation of ‘falsity’. In place of ‘fabrication’ and ‘invention’ Anderson uses ‘creation’ and ‘imagining’.[21]While accepting a constructivist view, he relates the ‘imagined political’ to ‘print capitalism’ and, often ignored, the decline of traditional religious worldviews to the development of the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm, unlike Anderson, maintains a rigorously critical perspective, insisting that no true historian can be a politically committed nationalist. Hobsbawm argues that the nation is a wholly modern phenomenon, which ‘belongs exclusively to a particular and historically recent period’.[22] For Eric Hobsbawm nationalists are ambitious 'social engineers' deliberately stirring up the atavist emotions of the masses. Within this relatively narrow time-frame, nationalism has interacted with other movements and dynamics. Thus state-building, democratization, language construction, scientific racism, socialism have all left their mark on the twists and turns of nationalism. In the process, nationalism has changed its character as a political movement, being notably transformed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when it acquired a strong ethnic focus. This emphasis on the historical processes involved in the construction of nationalist movements is a salutary corrective to both the universalistic arguments of the primordialists and the somewhat ahistorical and over-schematic work of a functionalist modernization theorist like Gellner. One of the further strengths of his analysis is that, sensitive to issues of class and literacy, he does not attempt to deduce the feelings of peoples from the evidence of the literate or writing minority.[23]

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[21] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London: Verso, 2006 P.7-8

[22] Eric J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, second edition,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.9

[23] Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman , *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, p.42

For Hobsbawm, the ‘invented traditions’ are the main concern, he claims that many of the traditions, which are thought to be very ancient in their origins, were not in fact sanctioned by long usage over the centuries, but were invented comparatively recently. He claims that national consciousness is the most common and concrete invented tradition. Even if they were invented in modern age, these traditions which ties up today with the past aims to improve the solidarity and unity among the individuals which generates social groups.[24]

Hobsbawm holds to a distinction between two forms of nationalism, one inclusionary and progressive, the other exclusionary and divisive. Thus he writes, it is important to distinguish between the exclusive nationalism of states or right-wing political movements which substitutes itself for all other forms of political and social identification, and the conglomerate national/citizen, social consciousness which, in modern states, forms the soil in which all other political sentiments grow. In this sense ‘nation’ and ‘class’ were not readily separable. If we accept that class consciousness in practice had a civic-national dimension, and civic-national or ethnic consciousness had social dimensions, then it is likely that the radicalization of the working classes in the first post-war Europe may have reinforced their potential national consciousness.[25]

Combining Primordialism and a limited version of modernism, ethno-symbolism focuses on the centrality of myths of descent in ethnic persistence. Therefore, it underlines the continuity between pre-modern and modern forms of social cohesion, without overlooking the changes brought about by modernity. The persisting feature in the formation and continuity of national identities are myths, memories, values, traditions and symbols. Myths of ethnic descent, particularly myths of 'ethnic choseness', lay at its core. Of all these myths, the myth of a ‘golden

[24] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.147
[25] Eric J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780,* second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.145

age' of past splendour is perhaps the most important. The foundations of modern nations are earlier ethnic communities, or ethnies. Ethnies are formed by coalescence and division, but are durable. The first nations were formed around ethnic cores.[26] Anthony D. Smith known as one of the important ethno-symbolists claims that modern nationalism did not appear ex nihilo, but has clearly pre-modern antecedents. For him, the rise of nations is predicated on the prior existence of ethnic groups, and nations are formed around 'ethnic cores', developed from pre-modern 'ethnie' whose members possess a collective proper name, share a myth of common ancestry, possess one or more differentiating elements of a common culture, share historical memories, associate themselves with a specific 'homeland', and have a sense of solidarity for significant sections of the population[27] It makes no difference whether these beliefs are themselves rational or irrational; they exist and are effective.

Ethnosymbolists, differ from Primordialists by accepting that nationalism is a product of modern age, on the other hand they claim that theories that explain nationalism by modern processes as capitalism and industrialization is insufficient because these approaches ignore persistency of ethnic loyalty.

After having a look at nationalism debates, one should also search for the role that language plays in the construction of a nation.

1. 2. Language in national discourse

Anderson states that the existence of the community or nation is often imagined through language, and thus stresses the role of language in imagining and creating nationhood. In much

[26] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.119
[27] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity,* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991, p.21

the same way, Gellner[28] states that "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist." Anderson discusses the importance of language in forming solidarity to create such nationhood in the following terms: It is always a mistake to treat language in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dance, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarity.[29] He explains how the role of language in forming solidarity differs from that of national flags and costumes, presenting the term "experience of simultaneity." For instance, language can provide a "special kind of contemporaneous community," especially in the form of poetry and songs.[30]

Nationalism is the sentiment of belonging to a community whose members identify with a set of symbols, beliefs and ways of life, and have the will to decide upon their common political destiny. [31] Moreover, language seems to be the most important of these symbols.

The relationship between language and nationalism is a central topic for all those concerned with language issues. Dating from the 18th century with the occurrence of national identity, language has been considered as the most important element, which characterises a nation. The German Romantics believed that national communities are natural and unique. They argued that even if these communities should forget their 'true identities' they could reclaim their authentic selves through an "awakening of consciousness."[32]Many nationalist such as Fichte and Herder known as

[28] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change,* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964 p.169
[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* London:Verse, 2006, p.148/149
[30] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* London:Verse, 2006, p.148-149
[31] Montserrat Guibernau, "Nationalism and Intellectuals in Nations without States: the Catalan Case" Barcelona, 2003,in *Political Studies: 2000* vol 48, 989-1005
[32] Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971 p.17

the ideologists of nationalist thought have claimed that language is the basis of national community. According to national ideologists, language could not be an invention of individual attempts; there should be the contribution of all the nations to language's occurrence. For them, a common language was both the proof for the existence of a nation and the symbol of national unity.

According to Herder, who is one of the most known thinkers of German romantic nationalism, besides providing communication among the members of a nation, a common national language protects the nation from outsider cultural impacts. Herder focuses on language as a specifically human trait that distinguishes humanity from all other species on the one hand and the creator of human differences and diversity of cultures on the other hand. Therefore, if a people abandon its language, it leaves off its individuality.[33] He claims that being a human means to have a language and to live in a community, every human being is the product of a language and community. That is to say, each language differs from the others and it is identical. [34] Herder believed that language was synonymous with thought, and was to be learned in a community. Since every language is unique, he reasoned that each community had its own mode of thought and the community is the sum of these modes of expression. On the basis of authenticity, Herder objected to a society being occupied by another society. He claims that societies were created by nature and it is against nature to mix up nations by force. At this point Fichte agrees with the idea of authenticity.[35] According to him, language reflects the soul of a nation. Fichte emphasizes the

[33] Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları,* İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.28
[34] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009, p. 39
[35] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.39

importance of language as a natural basis to determine what a nation is and how one nation differs from another.[36]

He also claims that purifying language means to protect the soul of the nation from outside influences. He accepts German language as a criterion of delimiting true Germanness, by German language he means a pure and original language.[37]

Carleton J. Hayes, a theorist of nationalism, states that language is the basic condition for a nation to exist.[38] According to him, by making a direct tie between the past and the present of a nation, language unites the members of a nation in thought and sensation.

Anthony D. Smith describes the German Romantic vision of nationalism as "an organic version" for it characterizes the nation as being unique, neutral and objective, which stands over and above the individuals who compose it.[39] Another important component of the Romantic ideal of "awakening" in order to reclaim the "old holy rights" was characterized by the continual struggle for achieving the sovereignty of the state.[40] The idea of self-determination became the supreme political good through which citizens could return back to their roots. The notion of national self-realization through political struggle defined the characteristics of many nationalist movements in the nineteenth century, resulting in the creation of modern nation states. On the other hand, not all nationalist movements construed language in the same way. In this sense, in order to stress the difference, generalizing different types of nationalism and their relationship with language is important. Some of the nineteenth century nation-states were constructed from parts of former

[36] Motohide Saji, *Nation, Race, Language, and Spirituality: Reading Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation*, International University of Japan, February 2011, p.8
[37] Motohide Saji, *Nation, Race, Language, and Spirituality: Reading Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation*, International University of Japan, February 2011, p.8
[38] Carleton J. Hayes, *Milliyetçilik: Bir Din*, İstanbul: İz Yayınları 1995, s.16,17
[39] Anthony D Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p.17
[40] Anthony D Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p.17

multicultural empires and dynasties; others drew their boundaries by unifying various pre-existing states. The ideal of mutual dependence of languages and nations was an essential component in the creation of these nation-states. The demand for a linguistically homogeneous nation has become a standard part of the nationalist ideology.[41] In both these two types of nationalism, language is one of the basic components of the common language; however, they construe language differently. The following part will focus on this difference by generalizing two types of nationalism and their relationship with language.

1. 3. Civic Nationalism and Cultural Nationalism

> Cultural nationalism, that is, attachment to one's own culture is a path towards universalism - by deepening the specificity of the particular within which one dwells.
> Civic nationalism . . . is a preferential choice in favour of one's own country over the others - thus, it is an anti-universalist choice.[42]

German historian Friedrich Meinecke divided the concept of nation into two different typologies: "political nation" (Staatsnation) and "cultural nation" (Kulturnation).[43] Political nation is also referred to as "civic nation" by some scholars.[44]A civic nation is based on the desire of a people to live together. These people also share political values, citizenship, and loyalty to that nation.[45] The political nation is the product of a shared political will and a voluntary political association. According to British historian Hugh Seton Watson's definition, a nation "exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as

[41] Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael, eds. *Language and nationalism in Europe*, Oxford University Press: 2000, p.14.
[42] Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. P.172
[43] Cited by George Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of historical Thought from Herder to the Present*, Middletwon, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983
[44] David Brown, *Are there good and bad nationalisms?,* "Nations and Nationalism" 5 (2), 1999, 281-302.
[45] Peter Alter, Nationalism, London: E. Arnold, 1989 p.14

if they formed one."[46] Following from the same tradition, Ernest Renan, in his famous lecture titled as "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" claimed that the existence of a nation was based on "a daily plebiscite." He added that however it exists, a nation was a soul and it endured via continuous approval of the individuals who built it up. [47]

The term 'civic nationalism' refers also to a sense of community, but in this case one formed around the belief that residence in a common territorial homeland, and involvement in the state and civil society institutions of that homeland, generate a distinctive national character and civic culture, such that all citizens, irrespective of their diverse ancestry, comprise a community in progress, with a common destiny. This commitment to a common destiny, tied into the idea of common loyalty to the territorial homeland and its institutions, means that civic nationalism implies the acquisition of ethical obligations, and should not be regarded simply as a voluntary association lacking emotive power. Indeed, the common public culture of civic nationalism serves to raise the people from a rabble to a nation, so that 'every member of the "people partakes of its elite quality'"[48]

This "civic, contractual, elective nation"[49] which represents a constructivist approach to the emergence of nations, has been endorsed by the Enlightenment philosophers and the thinkers of the French Revolution. The nation-building process in France has transformed the nation into "a

[46] Hugh, Seton-Watson. *Nations and states an enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism,* London: Methuen, 1977 p.5
[47] Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009, p. 57/58
[48] David Brown, "Are there good and bad nationalisms?", *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (2), 1999, 281-302.
[49] Alain Dieckhoff, *Nation and Nationalism in France: Between Idealism and Reality*. "Workshop: National Identity and Euroscepticism: A Comparison Between France and the United Kingdom Friday 13 May 2005", University of Oxford, 2005, p.1.
internet excess: http://oxpo.politics.ox.ac.uk/materials/national_identity/Dieckhoff_Paper.pdf (22.07.2012)

community of politically aware citizens equal before the law irrespective of their social and economic status, ethnic origin and religious beliefs." [50]

Civic nationalism suggests one's membership in and loyalty to the nation-state in terms of citizenship, common laws, and political participation regardless of ethnicity.[51] Cultural Nationalism, which also named as Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, suggests one's membership in and loyalty to the nation-state in terms of ethnicity and vernacular culture.[52] Therefore, minority ethnic groups, even if they are citizens of the state, "cannot become part of the dominant national group".[53]

A cultural nation emphasizes "the spirit of community based on objective characteristics" such as "common heritage and language, a distinct territory, shared religion, customs, and history." [54]

Cultural nationalism[55] refers, at its core, to a sense of community that focuses on the belief in myths of common ancestry; and on the perception that these myths are validated by contemporary similarities of physiognomy, language or religion. The myth of common ancestry, the related myths of homeland origin and migration, and pride in the contemporary linguistic, cultural or physical evidence of common kinship, provide the basis for claims of authenticity, and hence of claims to the right of collective national self determination. Cultural nationalism thus employs the same type of myths of common kinship and ancestry which are frequently denoted by the term "ethnicity". The term 'ethnicity' is used here to refer to a sense of identity based on

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[50] ,Peter Alter, *Nationalism,* London: E. Arnold, 1989, p.15.
[51] C. A. Kupchan, Introduction: Nationalism Resurgent, in Kupchan (ed.) Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995 p. 4.
[52] A.D Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism" Survival, Vol. 35, No 1 Spring, 1993 p.55.
[53] C. A, Kupchan, "Introduction: Nationalism Resurgent", in Kupchan (ed.) Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.1995, p.4
[54] Ray Taras*, Liberal and Illiberal Nationalisms,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.40.
[55] Variously labelled as ethnic, collectivistic, organic nationalism**.** **(**Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement,* New York: Palgrave, 2000. p.22)

myths of common ancestry. The term 'cultural nationalism' refers to the belief that a community claiming common ancestry should constitute a sovereign people or at least a people with significant political autonomy. It is possible for a cultural nation to include within itself several ethnic communities, with the latter being portrayed as 'sub-families' within the former.[56]

A cultural nation is presented as a natural phenomenon, in which membership is determined by natural and historical circumstances. This "cultural, organic and ascriptive" idea of a nation means that the nation-formation can occur independent of state structures.[57] The German idea of the nation that was brought up by the German Romantics also rests on this concept.[58]

The contributions of such theorists have done much to revive and refine the study of contemporary nationalism, and their variously formulated arguments undoubtedly have an intuitive appeal and a contemporary resonance, especially when one employs the imagery of the civic nationalisms of the USA or Britain on the one hand, and of Tamil or Serbian cultural nationalisms on the other. However, correlation does not always indicate cause.[59] Moreover, it would not require too much thought to generate apparent exceptions. Certainly, civic nationalism frequently takes an authoritarian form, as articulated by Suharto in Indonesia, or earlier by Jacobin nationalism in France.[60] At times cultural nationalism not only seems to take rather benign forms, as with the Welsh or Slovene cases, it is also often regarded as the carrier of minority rights and social justice, most noticeably in its manifestation as contemporary claims by indigenous or minority ethnic communities for enhanced political autonomy and special rights.

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[56] David Brown, "Are there good and bad nationalisms?", *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (2), 1999, 281-302.
[57] Alain Dieckhoff, "Nation and Nationalism in France: Between Idealism and Reality". *Workshop: National Identity and Euroscepticism: A Comparison Between France and the United Kingdom* Friday 13 May 2005, University of Oxford, 2005, p.1.
internet excess: http://oxpo.politics.ox.ac.uk/materials/national_identity/Dieckhoff_Paper.pdf (22.07.2012)
[58] Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.3
[59] David Brown, "Are there good and bad nationalisms?", *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (2), 1999, 281-302.
[60] David Brown, "Are there good and bad nationalisms?", *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (2), 1999, 281-302

Thus part of the reason why the distinction between the two is so difficult to apply to actual cases of nationalism is not simply that the two ideal types combine in all particular cases, but more fundamentally because both forms of nationalism employ, in their mythology and symbolism, the language of the family. The family of civic nationalism is primarily the marriage family, whereby entry into the family and its territorial institutional home from diverse sources indicates commitment to a common loyalty and destiny; whereas the family of cultural nationalism is primarily that of parenthood, with the commitment of (genetic or adopted) children to the family deriving from the belief in common ancestry.[61]

In fact, theories of nationality agree that there is an interaction between language and nationalism but the ideas of the essence of that relationship differs with different nationalist models. The distinction that puts an emphasis on the function of the language in nation building progress calls for attention on the difference between Civic Nationalism and Cultural Nationalism. [62]

Civic /Political Nationalism, which first emerged during the French Revolution, came into existence at the end of the war against the Monarchy. The newly emerged nation-state, started to reshape every field from education to bureaucracy, from art to sports. The target was to make every citizen feel that the nation was the highest collective identity. At this point, language was considered the most effective tool in the process of building nationalism. Language was disseminated in different fields as "National Education Language", "National Press Language", and "National Cultural Language". Despite this, the concept of a nation wasn't a collective identity defined in terms of language. French nationalism, based the notion of a nation on its

[61] David Brown, "Are there good and bad nationalisms?", Nations and Nationalism 5 (2), 1999, 281-302.
[62] Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.3

citizens uniting with political dependence, however, it accepted speaking French as an indirect condition for being a French citizen. [63]

While in civic nationalism, language was assumed as the expression of making citizens gain a "national identity", for cultural nationalism, the starting point of defining a nation was language. In other words a cultural nation was understood as a natural entity consisting of people speaking the same language. The German National Unity which was founded in the second half of the 19th century, attempted to base its political boundaries and the concept of citizenship on this understanding. The German Nation was perceived as an imaginary entity consisting of people who were ethnically German or spoke German. Therefore German nationalism could not claim to assimilate or Germanize the minorities remaining in the national territory. In the process of nation-building grounded in cultural nationalism, language is usually used as the main binding factor for the nation, especially in the situation when no common state exists.[64] At this point, nationalism becomes a bridge between the past and the present of a nation through language and culture and it attempts to prove its ancientness. It also serves as the instrument of enlarging the territory of the nation-state and as the justification of enlarging its numerical membership.

In French tradition or civic nationalism, the nation develops via its relationship with the state's institutional and territorial structure. In this context, a single language has the function of providing a common communication in the public sphere and all citizens speaking the same language are considered a member of the nation or the state. Therefore, in this context, language is not a discriminatory practice but an inclusive one. History, art and other science branches and activities, rather than blessing the nation's eternity, are used to put an emphasis on the unity of

[63] Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, p.3
[64] Tomasz D. I. Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe", in *Nations and Nationalism 7* (2), 2001, 235-251, ASEN 2001

diversity of people who bring the nation into being; it does not reflect a mentality based on the discriminatory. However, it is not always possible to say that this kind of nationalism has a pluralist approach to minorities. In the case of the French, assimilation is applied by legitimizing it as a civilizing mission. At this point, the common language chosen by the central authority rises as a symbol of cultural unity and minority languages are domineered under this language.

On the other hand, it is not possible to say that there is a sharp continuous distinction between these two types of nationalism and its language practices. These two features often coexist in the language policy of any polity. Many nationalist practices were impacted by both styles of nationalism; while they used language as a sign of the nation's perpetuity and eternity, they also codified language as a tool of communication in public sphere.[65]

Before finishing this part, another scholar, who I wish to mention, is Miroslav Hroch who describes a *national movement* as all the organized efforts to achieve a fully-fledged nation.[66] He defines the nation as the product of a long and complicated process of historical development which is a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness. He emphasizes three of these subjective reflections as the ones that stand out as irreplaceable. They are

> (i) 'memory' of some common past, treated as a 'destiny' of the group or at least of its core constituents; (ii) a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of

[65] Elçin Aktoprak, "Ulusun Tahayyülünde Anadili," *Anadili Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı-2* (30-31 Mayıs 2009), Ankara: Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 2010, pp.181-195

[66] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I /198*, London, March-April 1993, p.6

> social communication within the group and beyond it; a conception of the equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society.[67]

He defines the density of linguistic or cultural ties as irreplaceable since they enable a higher degree of social communication within a group and beyond it.

Hroch, also determines three main groups of demands that the programme of a national movement contains, according to him these demands correspond to felt deficits of national existence:

> (1) the development of a national culture based on the local language, and its normal use in education, administration and economic life; (2) the achievement of civil rights and political self-administration, initially in the form of autonomy and ultimately (usually quite late, as an express demand) of independence; (3) the creation of a complete social structure from out of the ethnic group. [68]

He stresses that the relative priority and timing of these three sets of demands vary in each case. But the trajectory of any national movement was only consumed when all were fulfilled.

As it has been argued so far that many scholars have related language with the constructing of a nation, and saw language as the binding factor for the nation.

2. Language Policies with respect to modernization

Intellectuals play a dominant role in the development of nationalism by presenting language as an instrument for the expression of collective consciousness. In their attempts to build a collective consciousness through language, they usually start a language planning movement in order to

[67] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I /198*, London, March-April 1993, p.6

[68] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I /198*, London, March-April 1993, p.6

promote the language to a ‘proper’ one which serves their purpose. In this part of my study I will concentrate on the conceptual framework of language planning and the process of language planning mostly led by nationalist elites.

2. 1. Language Planning

The term 'language planning' was introduced by the American linguist Einar Haugen in the late 1950s and refers to all conscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community.[69] It includes anything 'from proposing a new word to a new language.' Language policy refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process.[70]

Many ‘nation builders’ have used language to promote their nationalist goals. Harold Schiffman[71] has made a typology of at least three kinds of language policies. He uses three states that serve as a prototype for these language policies:

French language policy, as the representative of centrist policy, that is, a unilingual policy decreed from above, handed down and strictly controlled by a highly centralized state (which is by the way multilingual but refusing to recognize it). US language policy, which has so far been the example of laissez-faire language policy as applied to a supposedly monolingual state that is actually multilingual. The last one is the Indian language policy, which represents an admittedly multilingual nation.

The modern language policy is claimed to have started with the French Revolution. This was the first time in history when the elite used language as a politically binding factor. According to

[69] Andrea A. “Deumert, Language Planning and Policy”, in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418
[70] Andrea A. “Deumert, Language Planning and Policy”, in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418
[71] Harold Schiffman, *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*, London: Routledge, 1995, p.1

George Schöpflin, "in order to mobilize 'the people' you have to define them first, and in the French case 'the people' were those who spoke the language."[72]

In their book titled *Language Rights and Political Theory*,[73] Will Kymlicka and Allen Patten use a dichotomy and present two prominent normative models of language policymaking; The nation-building model and the diversity-preserving model.

The nation-building model regards the essential role of language planning as that of promoting state-wide linguistic convergence.[74] Some academics point out that linguistic convergence can be an unintended consequence of state policies. Eugen Weber,[75] for instance, argues that the promotion of economic development through the construction of roads and railways put those living on the periphery in contact with the central regions, resulting in an unintended process of linguistic convergence. On the other hand, some states use deliberate strategies to create linguistic convergence and cultural homogenization. These attempts often start with adopting the language of the majority as the official language of the nation-state.

The creation and adoption of such a language is a means by which 'a nation imagines itself' but its implications on other languages spoken within the boundaries of the same polity can be disastrous.[76] Serious problems arise when the state attempts to eradicate all linguistic differences for the purpose of imposing the language of the majority on the minority.

In his study of nation-formation in France at the end of nineteenth century, Eugen Weber presents in detail how the French state aimed to replace the regional dialects and languages with

[72] George Schöpflin, *Nations, Identity, Power*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.120
[73] Will Kymlicka, and Alan Patten, eds. *Language rights and political theory*, Oxford UP, 2003
[74] Will Kymlicka, and Alan Patten, eds. *Language rights and political theory* (Oxford UP, 2003), p.37
[75] Joseph, Weber, Eugen. Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914 (Stanford UP), 1976.
[76] Millar, Robert McColl. Language, nation, and power an introduction (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 200.

standardized French while imposing the French identity through mass compulsory education and military conscription.[77]

The diversity-preserving model differs from homogenizing projects. In the first half of the twentieth century, language planning was utilized as a tool for social engineering projects of exclusivist ideologists in various countries. Tensions were inevitable because monolingualism is an unusual attribute of societies. Western states began to distance themselves from homogenizing projects as the nation-building model came to be seen as hostile to the preservation of minority languages.[78] There were many underlying factors that prompted the endorsement of the diversity-preserving model. The first factor was a heightened sensitivity to language and a growing consensus on the desirability of linguistic diversity. The belief that languages should be preserved as 'vehicles of cultures' resonates in the works of many academics. [79] The importance of language to individual identity was mentioned. The rapid disappearance and death of many languages around the world also underscored the need for further action regarding the preservation of marginalized languages. Throughout the 1990s, international organizations gave voice to the increasing concerns about "the mass extinction" of "the cultural heritage of many people." [80]

Language politics rely on attitudes about language, on shared norms of speech communities, on nationalistic feelings and the ensuing sociolinguistic dynamics relating to change. [81]And this change in linguistic behaviour and in attitudes is what language planning is all about. Language policy includes two kinds of planning: corpus planning, which is concerned with the internal

[77] Joseph, Weber, Eugen. Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France. Stanford UP, 1976.
[78] Kymlicka, Will, and Alan Patten, eds. Language rights and political theory (Oxford UP, 2003), 42.
[79] Charles, Taylor, *Multiculturalism examining the politics of recognition*, N.J: Princeton UP, 1994, 1-25.
[80] Crystal, David, *Language Death,* Cambridge UP, 2002, 7-10.
[81] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by nationalist elites?* M.A Thesis, Submitted to Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2006 p.3

structure of the language, status planning which refers to all efforts undertaken to change the use and function of a language (or language variety) within a given society.[82]

Typical activities of corpus planning include devising a writing system for a spoken language, initiating spelling reforms, coining new terms and publishing grammar books. A central aspect of corpus planning is language standardisation, which can be understood as the creation and establishment of a uniform linguistic norm.

Status planning, which refers to the allocation of new functions to a language (such as using the language as medium of instruction or as an official language), affects the role a language plays within a given society.[83]

Although these two can theoretically be taken separately, in reality corpus planning and status planning are not mutually exclusive. Standardization implies change in the language status, even if it does not become an official language, and status planning usually includes some form of corpus planning (vocabulary enrichment, standardization, etc.). [84] Dealing with new language functions (status planning) often requires changes in the linguistic system (corpus planning) such as the development of new styles and lexical items. Andrea A. Deumert, states that there are two more dimensions of language planning; prestige planning and acquisition planning. Prestige planning is directed towards creating a favourable psychological background which is crucial for

[82] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418

[83] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418

[84] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by nationalist elites?* M.A Thesis, Submitted to Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2006, p.3

the long-term success of language planning activities. Efforts to spread and promote the learning of a language are described as instances of acquisition planning.[85]

2. 2. The Process of Language Planning

Haugen developed a useful framework for the description of the process of language planning.[86] According to Haugen, language planning typically consists of four stages, which can (but need not to) be sequential:

1. Selection
2. Codification
3. Elaboration.
4. Acceptance

Language planning begins with the possibility of choosing among several linguistic alternatives (Haugen 1966). To choose certain linguistic forms or language varieties over others, and promote them as being 'the norm', is the basis of most language-planning activities.

Selection is the term used to refer to the choice of a language or language variety to fulfil certain functions in a given society: for example, official language, medium of instruction, religious language and so on. Often this means that the most prestigious dialect or language is chosen, as in the case of modern French, which is based on the prestigious dialect spoken in the region around Paris (*Ile-de-France*).

There are fewer difficulties where everyone speaks virtually alike, a situation rarely found. Elsewhere it may be necessary to make some decisions. To choose any one vernacular as a norm means to favour the group of people speaking that variety. It gives them prestige as norm-bearers

[85] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418
[86] Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation", in *American Antropologist*, 68 / 1966, p. 922-935

and a head start in the race for power and position. If recognized elite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail. However, where there are socially coordinated groups of people within the community, usually distributed regionally or tribally, the choice of any one of them rising above the others will meet with resistance from the rest. This resistance is likely to be the stronger the greater the language distance within the group.Where this is impossible, it may be necessary to resort to the construction of a new standard. To some extent this has happened naturally with the rise of traditional norms; it has been the aim of many language reformers to duplicate the effect in new ones. For related dialects one can apply principles of linguistic reconstruction to make a hypothetical mother tongue for them all. Or one can also be guided by some actual or supposed mother tongue, which exists in older, traditional writings or one can combine those forms that have the widest usage, in the hope that they will most easily win general acceptance. [87]

Codification refers to the creation of a linguistic standard or norm for a selected linguistic code and is commonly divided into three stages: *graphisation* (developing a writing system), *grammatication* (deciding on the rules/norms of grammar) and *lexicalisation* (identifying the vocabulary).[88] Codification is often administered by language academies, as in the case of French; however, codification has frequently been the achievement of individuals as is the case for the Kurds; individuals started their attempts at codification, before the administration of codification by academies.[89]

[87] Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation", in *American Antropologist*, 68 / 1966, p. 922-935
[88] Einar Haugen, "Language planning" in: U. Ammon / N. Dittmer / J.K. Mattheier (eds) *Sociolinguistics*. *Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. in internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*, vol I., Berlin / New York: de Gruyter: 1987 626-637.
[89] Chapter IV will focus on this issue.

Another aspect of the language-planning process is the normative formulation of the rules of grammar. In other words, one decides which forms will belong to the new standard, thus reducing syntactic and morphological variation. This process is called grammatication.[90]

Lexicalisation refers to the selection and publication of an appropriate vocabulary for the selected variety. Lexicalisation is frequently characterised by purist tendencies, which aim at the exclusion of words of foreign origin.

The socio-political realisation of the decisions made in the stages of selection and codification is called implementation. This includes the production of books, pamphlets, newspapers and textbooks in the newly codified standard as well as its introduction into new domains, especially the education system. While linguistically trained people often dominate the processes of selection and codification, implementation is typically conducted by the state. The implementation of a new standard variety or language can involve marketing techniques to promote its use, including awards for authors who publish texts in the new standard, language bonuses for civil servants, and even advertisements[91]

Elaboration (sometimes referred to as modernisation) involves the terminological and stylistic development of a codified language to meet the continuing communicative demands of modern life and technology. The main area of language elaboration is the production and dissemination of new terms, and often different strategies of lexical enrichment are used simultaneously. While form and function may generally be distinguished, there is one area in which they overlap; Elaboration of function may lead to complexity of form, and, contrariwise, unity of form may

[90] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418

[91] Haugen, E. (1983) "The implementation of corpus planning: theory and practice", in: Cobarrubias / J.A. Fishman (eds*) Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, Berlin: Mouton, 269-290.

lead to rigidity of function. This area of interaction between form and function is the domain of style.

Elaboration is an ongoing process in every language, as there is a never-ending need to develop new terms to talk and write about new ideas, concepts and inventions.

It is not easy to relate the four dimensions of language planning (corpus, status, prestige and acquisition planning) directly and unambiguously to the four stages of language planning (selection, codification, implementation and elaboration). Following Haugen, [92]codification and elaboration can be identified as aspects of corpus planning, while the dimensions of status, prestige and acquisition planning underlie the practices of selection and implementation.

Finally, a standard language, if it is not to be dismissed as dead, must have a body of users. Acceptance of the norm, even by a small but influential group, is part of the life of the language. Any learning requires the expenditure of time and effort, and it must somehow contribute to the well-being of the learners if they are not to shirk their lessons. A standard language that is the instrument of an authority, such as a government, can offer its users material rewards in the form of power and position.

Policies of language usually aim to secure the status and position of the dominant language(s). They layout the use of official and minority languages and organize the acquisition of official, minority and dominant languages.

Before finishing this part one more thing is to be added; emphasising the descriptive nature of linguistics as a science, linguists have often approached language planning and its essentially prescriptive nature with some degree of suspicion and left its execution to politicians and lay

[92] Haugen, E. (1987) "Language planning" in U. Ammon / N. Dittmer / J.K. Mattheier (eds) *Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. vol I.*, Berlin / New York: de Gruyter: 626-637.

people.[93] It is because during this period of regulating the languages status, these attempts might have some negative consequences as well.

Policy-makers might actually end up in the linguistic assimilation, may it be overt or covert, of minority languages.[94]

Dialectization of other varieties spoken in societies is another possible negative consequence, through which there also happens a stigmatisation of the speakers. [95] In this case one dialect becomes superior to the others, and it gets the highest statue among the others.

Language policies conducted and led by nationalistically driven elites may also result in extreme purism in corpus planning. Language purism is the term used for the attempts to "purify" a language from all words, which are believed not to originally belong to that language.

Language policies deal with the social (re)distribution of competing languages, and mostly these interventions by the ruling elites have both social and political consequences. All parts of language planning that is basically used in language policies actually deal with the status of a language.

3. Language as a political tool by nationalist elites

Intellectuals play a big role in building national consciousness. They act as the engineers of nationalist movements by providing cultural, historical, political and economic arguments to

[93] Andrea A. Deumert, "Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418.
[94] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by nationalist elites?* M.A Thesis, Submitted to Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2006 p.71
[95] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by nationalist elites?* M.A Thesis, Submitted to Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2006 p.72

sustain the distinctive character of the nation and to legitimize its will to decide upon its political future.

Intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation-card had to be written in a language they understood. [96]

Nairn, as well as Hroch, envisages a chronological progression in the spread of nationalism from elites into mass involvement.

Miroslav Hroch, points out three structural phases that occur between the starting-point of any given national movement and its successful conclusion, He distinguishes this period according to the character and role of those active in it, and the degree of national consciousness emergent in the ethnic group at large.

> During an initial period, which I have called Phase A, the energies of the activists were above all devoted to the scholarly enquiry into and the dissemination of an awareness of the linguistic, cultural, social and sometimes historical attributes of the non-dominant group but without, on the whole, pressing specifically national demands to remedy deficits.
>
> In a second period, or Phase B, a new range of activists emerged, who now sought to win over as many of their ethnic groups as possible to the project of creating a future nation, by patriotic agitation to 'awaken' national consciousness among them at first usually without notable success (in one sub-stage), but later (in another sub-stage) finding a growing reception. Once the major part of the population came to set special store by their national identity, a mass movement was formed, which I have termed Phase C. It was only during this final phase that a full social structure could come into being, and that the movement differentiated out into conservative clerical, liberal and democratic wings, each with their own programmes. [97]

[96] Tom Nairn, *The Break up of Britain*, London: NLB, 1977, p.340

[97] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I /198*, London, March-April 1993, p.6-7

In Nairn's theory, the support of the masses is crucial if a nationalist movement is to succeed. But, what are the implications of turning to the people? He points at three main implications: (1) speaking their language; (2) taking a more kind view of their general "culture" which had been relegated by the Enlightenment and (3) coming to terms with the enormous and still irreconcilable diversity of popular and peasant life. [98]

In line with Nairn, Breuilly stresses the ability of nationalism to attain mass support and confers a preeminent role to intellectuals and members of the professions as key figures in the constructions of nationalist ideologies. He understands nationalism as a form of opposition politics. In his view, 'the term "nationalism" is used to refer to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such actions with nationalist arguments'[99]

Anthony Smith,[100] claims that in all nationalist movements intellectuals play an important role. He goes on by saying that the extent and exact nature, of that role, varies according to context; he adds that in different societies and periods, the meaning of the term "intelligentsia" may vary but it varies within definite limits. For it is nevertheless possible to discern the strong influence, and often leadership, of intellectual and professional groups both in the process of vernacular mobilization and in the cultural politicization of wider strata of the community or category. According to Smith, the intellectuals and professionals not only revive customs and languages, they rediscover history and (re-)establish ceremonies and traditions; they also give these activities and rediscoveries a national political meaning they never previously possessed.[101]

Nairn, Breuilly and Smith agree that intellectuals play the role of 'generators of nationalism'.

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[98] Tom Nairn, *The Break up of Britain*, London: NLB, 1977, P.101
[99] John Breuilly, Nationalism and State, Manchester, Manchester University pres, 1982P.3
[100] Anthony Smith, National Identity, London, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141
[101] Anthony Smith, *National Identity, London*, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141

Brian Weinstein divides the elites who direct the ethnic and nationalist movements into two groups; "Political elites" and "Cultural elites". [102] He emphasizes that Political elites define the interest of national movements in terms of access to power and wealth while Cultural elites define the group in terms of where frontiers begin and end. From his point of view each plays a different but complementary role. Within this group, cultural actors are writers, translators, poets, and dictionary makers whose choice of tongue for their literary works can raise that language up the flagpole of identity. The person who thus innovates linguistically in order to promote interests should be called a language strategist.[103] Weinstein also claims that these strategists' motivation is political rather than solely artistic.

As a result of linguistic innovations, a high prestige language variation occurs and that variation might serve a consciously articulated political goal requiring the mobilization of significant numbers of people.

Weinstein, underlines that linguistic symbols become a powerful weapon for political elites if they are legitimized or accepted by significant numbers of people. They are a source of power to demand economic and power benefits for the new ethnicity or nationality in whose name they claim to speak.[104]

Eric Hobsbawn, claims that national languages are "almost always semi-artificial constructs" built by the same state and the same elite that constructed nationalist ideology.[105] When we talk

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[102] Brian Weinstein "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices, in World Politics", in *World Politics,* Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364 Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993 (Accessed: 09/10/2011 04:01)

[103] Brian Weinstein "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices, in World Politics", in *World Politics,* Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364 Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993 (Accessed: 09/10/2011 04:01p.345

[104] Brian Weinstein "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices, in World Politics", in *World Politics,* Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364 Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993 (Accessed: 09/10/2011 04:01, p.346

[105] Eric Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; 54

about the literary standard, it is most definately constructed in a sense, during a period of standardization, which has already been mentioned previously, and it depends largely on the mastery of these language builders, that the final construct be acceptable for as many speech communities as possible. It is also true that the standard idiom created by the educated elites is later on imposed on masses of people through the compulsory educational system, which is again planned and implemented by these elites.

William Safran emphasize that even in the cases of 'trans-linguistic nationalisms', in which collective political consciousness was developed beyond national cultures, there was always a medium through which these trans-national ideals were channelled, and these medium choices were not just matters of coincidence and convenience, but these languages were actually the languages of the dominant elites.[106] As elite influence on any kind of nationalism, including linguistic nationalism can be very significant; the conscious political choices have been tied to language politics all through history.

Different elites have used all three parts of language planning; corpus, status and usage planning during different times.[107] The need to develop a sociolinguistic approach to language planning is emphasised by the fact that language-planning activities often form a language as part of a wider social engineering and are employed to achieve non-linguistic goals, such as socioeconomic modernisation or national integration[108]

At this point the concern that determines linguistic choices is politic rather than linguistic ones, and language planning becomes central to the attainment of more general political goals. Political

[106] William Safran, "Nationalism" in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 83-84

[107] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418

[108] Andrea A. "Deumert, Language Planning and Policy", in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, by R. Meshtrie / J. Swann / A. Deumert Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 p. 384- 418

elites regularly take the leading role in language-planning activities. Language planning may be initiated at any level of the social hierarchy, but it is unlikely to succeed unless it is promoted by elites.

Chapter II Historical Background: Discursive Construction of the Kurdish Nation (The Period up to Hawar)

After supplying the study with a theoretical background and laying down the basis on which nationalist intellectuals construct language as a sign of a nation's 'everlasting existence' and attempt to codify it as the means of national identity, I will now continue my study with a historical background. In this chapter, I will try to provide a historical background of the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation, examining the specific case of Kurdish nationalism within the context of the late Ottoman Empire. The first part of this study evaluates the existing historiography relating to the evolution of Kurdish nationalism.

1-Building the Kurdish Nation

> "…a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members."[109]

Kurds, who live in a territory divided into four parts today, were once subject to the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Ottomans possessed a formidable empire, stretching from Ukraine to Yemen and from Iran to the western Mediterranean Central Government over the sprawling empire. This was the time when several semi-autonomous Kurdish principalities existed in territories nominally controlled by the Ottomans. There were several strong Kurdish dynasties at that time: *Bahdinan Amadiya*, *Soran* in *Rawanduz*, *Baban* in *Sulaimaniya*, and *Botan* in *Cezire*. Between 1837 and the mid-1850s the Ottoman managed to assert their control over these existing principalities, which were progressively deprived of all autonomy. All the local dynasties besides the Botan Emirate were affected by the centralist policies of the Ottomans until the end of

[109] Definition of nation in Anthony D. Smith, *National identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 14

the 1830s. The leader of the Botan Emirate, Bedirxan Beg (1802?-1869)[110], is known for the rebellion in 1847 which carries his name. In this rebellion, the struggle between the two sides continued for nearly eight months and finally, Bedirxan Beg surrendered.

The significance of Bedirxan and his revolt comes from later Kurdish claims that it was a national uprising. As it will be displayed in the following chapters, Kurdish intellectuals of the late Ottoman Period and their consecutives would claim Bedirxan Beg as a nationalist hero and called on Kurds to follow his footsteps. In line with this, many Kurdish scholars believe that the Bedirxan Revolt was a nationalist movement.[111] David McDowall believes that it is natural that some Kurds look back to these revolts as the beginning of the national struggle, but he warns that the emirs acted individually, as reluctant to subordinate personal power to the greater opportunities of acting in concert with the other paramount chiefs as they accepted the authority of government.[112] Along with a few others, Hakan Özoğlu claims that Bedirxan's revolt did not stem from nationalism in any real sense, but from a new administrative system enforced by the Ottoman central government that aimed at dividing Bedirxan's land thereby weakening his authority. Özoğlu bases his claims on documents from Ottoman archives.[113] In line with him, Robert Olson mentions that there is nothing in historical records, which indicates that "Bedirxan's plan was the establishment of an independent Kurdistan". [114]

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[110] Many scholars like Celîle Celîl states that he was born in 1802, but Malmîsanij refering the 13th issue of Kurdistan Newspaper says that he was born in 1806. Celîlê Celîl, XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kürtler, Özge Yayınları, Ankara: 1992, p.78; Malmîsanij, Cizira Botanlı Bedirhaniler, İstanbul: Avesta yayınları, 2009, p.54,55

[111] Malmîsanij, *Cizira Botanlı Berdihaniler ve Bedirhan Ailesi Derneğinin tutanakları*. Spranga: APEC, 1994, p.11 Mehmet Emin *Zeki, Kurdistan Tarihi,* Ankara: Beybun,1992, p.124

[112] David Mcdowall, The Kurdish quesiton: a historical review, in The Kurds; A contemporary overview, edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, London: Routledge, 1997, p.10

[113] Hakan Özoğlu, Kurdish Nottables and the Ottoman State, Newyork, State University of Newyork Press, 2004, p.71/72

[114] Robert Olson, The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and The Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925, Texas: 1989, p.2.

After the suppression of Bedirxan's revolt and the destruction of Kurdish leaders, a power vacuum came into existence in the district. The Sheik Ubeydullah Rebellion, which is considered as the emergence of a genuine Kurdish Nationalist Movement,[115] would break out a few decades later.

A growing number of religious Sheikhs filled the vacuum. These Sheikhs belonged predominantly to two religious brotherhoods, the Qadiriya and the Naqshbandiya and they began to spread rapidly through out Kurdistan in the early 19th century. Sheikh Ubeydullah (d.1883) who belonged to Naqshbandi committee was the one who first called for an autonomous Kurdish entity in 1878. The Şemdinan Family, one of the most important and effective Kurdish dynasties, was located in the Nehri village of Semdinan in Hakkari. The family claimed to be the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad. They had an important influence on the region and surrounding areas. After the defeat of the Botan Emirate, political and economic power in the regions where the Kurds were living was held mostly by religious Kurdish leaders and the era between 1870 and 1880 was the high point of the Naqshbandi Semdinan family. Naqshbandi Sheikhs were not only religious but also political and economic leaders; however, until that time sheikhs were only the advisors of the tribal leaders.[116]

In 1880, Sheikh Ubeydullah, with the support of the local Christians (Nestorians) as well as the Kurds, held an uprising against Qajar Persia and the Ottoman state.

After the Treaty of Berlin, signed on 13 July 1878 by the Ottoman Empire. Article 61 of the treaty stipulated that the Sublime Porte would undertake necessary steps to protect Armenians

[115] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers?,* Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 57
[116] Hakan Özoğlu, *Kurdish Nottables and the Ottoman State*, Newyork, State University of Newyork Press, 2004, p. 73

against the Circassians and the Kurds. To show his dissatisfaction with the treaty, in July 1880 Ubeydullah warned Tosun Pasa, the Mutasarrif (governor of a subdivision) of Baskale:

> What is this I hear, that the Armenians are going to have an independent state in Van, and that the Nestorians are going to hoist the British flag and declare themselves British subjects. I will never permit it, even if I have to arm the women.[117]

Wadie Jwaideh, states that "fear of the Armenian ascendancy in Kurdistan appears to have been one of the most powerful reasons behind [Ubeydullah's] attempt to unite the Kurds' and led them for an uprising."[118]

Many scholars of Kurdish nationalism identify this revolt as the origin of the Kurdish nationalist struggle, for the Sheikh demanded a Kurdish state (either independent or autonomous) governed by himself. The most convincing evidence of Ubeydullah's 'nationalist' aim comes from a letter that he himself wrote. In a letter to an American missionary named Cochran, Sheikh Ubeydullah states:

> The Kurdish nation, consisting of more than 500,000 families, is a people apart. Their religion is different [from that of others], and their laws and customs distinct.... We are also a nation apart. We want our affairs to be in our hands, so that in the punishment of our own offenders we may be strong and independent, and have privileges like other nations.... This is our object [for the revolt].... Otherwise the whole of Kurdistan will take the matter into their own hands, as they are unable to put up with these continual evil deeds and the oppression which they suffer at the hands of the [Persian and Ottoman] governments.[119]

[117] Vice-Counsel Clayton to Major Trotter, Baskale, 11 July 1880, in Parliamentary pp. 5-7 (Özoğlu, 2004)
[118] Wadie Jwaideh, Kurdish Nationalist Movement, Ph.D dissertation, Syracuse University Press, 1999 231. (Özoğlu 2004, p.74)
[119] Ubeydullah to Dr. Cochran, 5 October 1880, in Parliamentary Papers, 5:47-48. (Özoğlu, 2004, p. 75)

Jwaideh believes that the sheikh Ubeydullah movement was a nationalistic one.[120] Another scholar Celîlê Celîl emphasizes the nationalist nature of Ubeydullah's revolt as well.[121] In line with them, Olson also accepts Ubeydullah's movement as the first step of Kurdish nationalism.[122] He mentions that the most important difference between Sheik Ubeydullah's movement and Bedirxan's attempt was Ubeydullah's publicly stated goal of establishing an independent Kurdistan, referring to his letter to British Vice-Consul Clayton.[123]

Özoğlu, suspicious about the nationalistic features of Ubeydullah's movement, claims that Ubeydullah wanted to be the ruler of a principality similar to those of the earlier Kurdish emirates but greater in its territory to match his influence in the region. Özoğlu adds that this revolt can simply be seen as Sayyid Ubeydullah's demand for greater control in the region. However he doesn't ignore that, it undoubtedly provided the Kurdish nationalist movements in the 20th century with a symbol for a struggle against a dominant state and led scholars to identify him as a nationalist.[124]

Defining the Kurds as an apart people and demanding the right to rule themselves, the sheikh clearly, intended to unite the Kurds and pointed out the land where Kurds live as Kurdistan.

The creation of Hamidiye Light Cavalry Regiments, in 1891 is another step in the history of Kurdish nationalism. The Hamidiye Light Cavalry (Hamidiye Alayları) was constructed as a special militia, composed of selected Sunni Kurds. The number of men for a single regiment was

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[120] Jwaideh, Waide. *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origin and Development*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006. P.90

[121] Celîlê Celîl, *Kürt Halk Tarihinden 13 İlginç Yaprak,* trans. Hasan Kaya (İstanbul:Evrensel Basım-Yayın, 2007), pp. 38-56.

[122] Robert Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and The Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925,* Texas: 1989, p.7

[123] Robert Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and The Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925, Texas: 1989, p.2*

[124] Özoğlu, 2004 p.76

between 500 and 1,150 and each regiment was commanded by its own tribal leader.[125] Their main responsibilities were to prevent foreign invasions at the borders and to keep the Armenian population of the eastern provinces under control.

For Kurdish Sunni tribes involved, the Hamidiye provided an opportunity to enlarge their wealth and influence. As argued by scholars like Bruinessen, Abdülhamid II aimed to subject the Kurds to the Sultan/Caliphate, as the loyalty of Kurds came under suspicion during the revolt of Sheikh Ubeydullah. [126]Furthermore, the selection of Hamidiye militias among the less powerful tribes is also thought-provoking, because the former less powerful tribes, with weapons and a salary gaining/prestigious job became stronger than others, thereby challenging the balance of power in the region, allowing the sultan to manipulate the power in Kurdistan.

The establishment of the Hamidiye did entail the creation of new tribes but it strengthened some of the existing tribes economically and politically and it made them internally more hierarchical. It also sowed the seeds of tribal conflicts that would surface decades later. M Şerif Fırat mentions that his own tribe, the Alevi Hormek, turned against the Sheik Seîd rebellion in 1925 out of resentment of the Sunni Cibran tribe, which played a leading role in the rebellion and which had in the past as Hamidiye oppressed the Hormek.[127]

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[125] Martin van Bruinessen, "Kurds, States, and Tribes", paper presented at the conference titled as *Tribes and Powers in the Middle East*, London, SOAS, Birkbeck College and Iraqi Cultural Forum, January 23-24, 1999. Available at; http://www.let.uu.nl/~Martin.vanBruinessen/personal/publications/Kurds,%20states,%20tribes.htm. (last axcess: 25/07/2012)

[126] Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* London and New Jersey: Zed Boks, 1992, p.185

[127] Cited by Martin van Bruinessen, "Kurds, States, and Tribes", Paper presented at the conference "Tribes and Powers in the Middle East", London, SOAS, Birkbeck College and Iraqi Cultural Forum, January 23-24, 1999, also available at; http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/let/2007-0312-083859/bruinessen_02_kurdsstatestribes.pdf (last access in August 26, 2012

The Hamidiye regiments were later disbanded by the Young Turk regime that deposed Sultan Abdulhamid in 1909. Kurdish tribal regiments took part in the World War and disappeared, along with the Ottoman Empire itself, after the war.

During the same period, Abdulhamid II also increased the number of schools all over the Ottoman land and gave path to the enlightenment of young Ottoman citizens. Students from all over the state came together in Istanbul, where they established a secret organization, *Ittihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti* (Society for Ottoman Unification). The organization was established by the students of *Askeri Tıbbiye* (Military Medicine School) in 1889. *Ittihad-ı Osmani* referred to the multi-ethnic character of the society. Those who founded the Society, were Ibrahim Temo (Albanian), Mehmet Resit (Circassian), İshak Sukuti and Abdullah Cevdet (Kurd) Besides them, there were also Turkish members of the society.[128] The society's name was later replaced by *Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti /ITC* (The Committee of Union and Progress). The group was also called *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks).

The term 'Young Turks' did not only refer to the members who were ethnically Turkish, but also to Arab, Albanian, and Kurdish ones who demanded certain reforms for the Ottoman state. As it was very difficult to voice dissent in Ottoman lands, many opponents came together abroad. Many opponent publications came out during this period. The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan* (1898/1902), was one of them and it began to be published in Cairo in 1898. Mikdat Mithad Bedirxan was the founder of the Kurdistan as well as being a member of the Bedirxan family. It initially featured only Kurdish articles but after the fourth issue also included articles in Turkish. The Newspaper tried to underline the bad behaviour of Ottoman officials in the regions where the

[128] Naci Kutlay, *Ittihat Terakki ve Kurtler* Istanbul: Koral-Fırat Yayınları, 1991, p. 26.

Kurds were living and showed the first signs of a trans-tribal Kurdish identity.[129] During this period in Cairo, the newspaper had an educational mission since Mikdat Bedirxan complained about the lack of literacy in eastern Anatolia. He hoped Kurdish society would capture the contemporary issues, as seen in his following words:

> I, as one of the distinguished members of the Kurdish notables, because of the Prophet's order commanding "you all are shepherds and responsible for your flock," to fulfil my obligation; publish this newspaper in Kurdish with the hope of educating the Kurds in arts and science and raising their consciousness to a modern level.[130]

One of the aspects of *Kurdistan*'s discourse was its stress on the need for the propagation of education amongst the Kurds. A letter published in *Kurdistan* again hinted at the need for education amongst the Kurds: "You know that Kurds by their manner [behaviour, the way they are] are an excellent kind of human beings, they are courageous, they are gallant; their shortfall is in knowledge." [131]

Looking through the articles published in the newspaper, especially in the first period of its publication, it is clearly seen that the writers in *Kurdistan* constantly emphasised the strategic importance of Kurdistan to the defence of the Ottoman homeland. Mikdat Bedirxan wrote:

> As you know, Kurds are one of the distinguished nations of Ottomans who will live eternally and Kurdistan is neighbours with Russia and Persia and is especially a barrier to enemies' occupation in Anatolia.[132]

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[129] Özoğlu 2004, pp.35-36.
[130] Ozoğlu 2004, p. 36 (Kurdistan, June 2, 1899)
[131] "Kaxidek e ji Kurdistanê hatî" *Kurdistan* 20 Mart 1315 ["Hun jî dizanin ku Kurmanc bi xilqeta xwe new'ek ji benî Ademên mumtaz in, şecî'in, ciwamêr in; kêmayîya wan ilm û marîfet e."]
[132] "Şevketlu Azametlu Sultan Abd ül-Hamid-i Sanî Hazretlerine Arzıhal-i Abîdanmemdir" *Kurdistan*, issue 4, (in re-print by M.Emin Bozarslan, Uppsala: Weşanxana Deng, 1991, pp.145,146.
["Malum-ı Şahaneleri buyurulduğu vechiyle, Kurdler, Devlet-i Ebed-müddet-i Osmaniyelerini teşkil eden akvamın en güzîdelerinden ve Kurdistan dahi mevkian iki devlete [Russia and Iran] hemhudud ve alelhusus Anadolu tarafından tecavüz-i a'dayı mani…"]

Relying on the statements in which Kurds are described as part of the Ottomans, Djene R. Bajalan claims that the writers in *Kurdistan* viewed the Kurdish question through the lens of Ottoman patriotism.[133] He argues that they identified the Ottoman Empire as their primary homeland of which Kurdistan formed an indivisible part.

The second period of the newspaper started in Geneva in (October, 1898). This time, Mithad's brother, Abdurrahman Bedirxan (1868-1936), who had close relations with Armenian organizations, published it. Via Armenian committees, he sent some declarations and announcements to eastern Anatolia, which invited Kurds to wake up from "sersemletici uyku" (dizziness sleep).[134] Beside the good relations with the Armenians in Europe, the writers of *Kurdistan* got closer to the Young Turks in Geneva.

In Geneva, Abdurrahman both continued to publish *Kurdistan* and was involved in the activities of the Committee of Union and Progress with two other Kurds, Hikmet Baban, from the aristocratic Baban family, and Doctor Abdullah Cevdet. Furthermore, Abdurrahman Bedirxan was the Kurdish delegate in the 1902 Congress of the *ITC*.[135]

During this period, the writers of *Kurdistan* expressed views that were not too divergent from their Turkish compatriots. Expressions of Kurdish particularism were not seen as at odds with the ideology of Ottoman nationalism. The Young Kurdish intellectuals regarded the enlightenment of Kurds and the modernisation of Kurdistan as a necessary step to defend the territorial integrity of

[133] Djene Rhys Bajalan, *Jön Kürtler*, Istanbul: Avesta, 2010 p. 90
[134] Celile Celil, *Kürt Aydınlanması*, Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2000, p.30
[135] Malmîsanij, *İlk Kürt Gazetesi Kurdistan'ı Yayımlayan Abdurrahman Bedirxan (1868- 1936)* İstanbul: Vate Yayınları, 2009, p.13, p.19.

the empire. Their opposition was to a despotic and autocratic regime that was failing to do its duty to defend the homeland. [136]

However it has to be mentioned that starting from the end of the 1890s, Turkish nationalism began to gain support from more Unionists, who would be more effective in the following years. For instance, Halil Muvaffak Bey wrote a letter to Ishak Sukuti and described publishing Kurdistan as trouble for him. Besides that, Tunalı Hilmi brought out commentaries on how Turks were superior to the other Ottoman subjects.[137]

Between 1902 and 1907, the leading faction of Young Turks, the *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* developed strong 'Turkist' proclivities. This apparently proved crucial in its appeal to young activist military officers in the Balkan. Nevertheless, Hanioğlu notes that: "Despite their Turkist proclivities, the new leaders [of the Young Turk movement] viewed Turkism, like Ottomanism and Panislamism, as useful tools to fulfil their supreme goal: *the salvation of the empire*".[138] Thus Turkism was downplayed, at least in public propaganda, from late 1907 as the perpetrations for revolution matured and as such, another defining characteristic of the Young Turk movement might be said to be its 'political opportunism.'[139]

After the announcement of the Constitution in 1908, many activist opponents, who had been sent into exile by the Sultan or fled from oppression, started to return to the Ottoman land. One of them was Sayyid Abdulkadir, the son of Sheikh Ubeydullah. An excited Kurdish group (generally Kurdish porters) in Istanbul welcomed him. After a while, Sayyid Abdulkadir, Bediuzzaman Said-i Kurdi, Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, Hacı Tevfik (Piremerd) and some other

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[136] Djene Rhys Bajalan, *Jön Kürtler,* Istanbul: Avesta, 2010 p. 98
[137] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Osmanlı Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jon Turkluk*, Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1985, p.632
[138] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 296
[139]see Hanioğlu(2001) pp. 295-303

Kurdish intellectuals came together and established *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* / *KTTC* (Society for the Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan) in 1908. Sayyid Abdulkadir was elected as the Society's president while Müşir Ahmed Paşa[140] became his deputy. Babanzâde Naim Ahmed ran the organisation's administrative committee (Heyet-i İdare).[141] Other noteworthy members included Emin Ali Bedirxan, Said-i Nursî, Babanzâde İsmail Hakkı, Süleyman Nazif, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik and Diyarbekirli Ahmed Cemal.[142] This time Bedirxans, Semdinans, and Babanzades acted together for a Kurdish organization.

These intellectuals' aims were listed in the charter of the *KTTC*;

> A beneficial society (*cemiyet-i hayriye*) has been established by the name of *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* to consolidate Kurdish ties (*revabıt*) with the Ottoman state while protecting the Constitution (*Mesrutiyet*) as the only way for progress and explaining to those Kurds who are not aware of the virtues of the Constitution (*Kanun-u Esasi*) that is responsible for the happiness of the people and also compatible with the great rules of Islam. (It shall) protect the high esteem (*mubeccel*e) of being an Ottoman and strengthen the relations with the Armenian, Nasturi and other citizens of the Ottoman Empire. (It shall also seek) solutions to the problems amongst the tribes and confederacies (*kabail* and *aşair*) by uniting them (and it shall) encourage commerce, agriculture, and education.[143]

The loyalty to the Ottoman state is indispensable for the founders. It seems like *KTTC* was remote from Kurdish secessionism since it focused on Ottomanism and tried to find solutions to the problems in the regions where the Kurds were living within the Ottoman state. *KTTC* sought

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[140] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler* vol. 1 Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984, p. 439 ["Cemiyetimiz merhum Şeyh Abdullah Efendizâde Seyyit Abd ül-Kadir Efeni hazretlerini riyaset-i ulâya ve Damad-ı Hazret-i Şehriyârî merhum İsmail Paşazâde Müşir Ahmed Paşa hazretlerini de riyaset-i saniyeye intihab etmiştir."]

[141] M. Şükrü Sekban. *Kürt Meselesi.* Ankara: Kon Yayınları, 1979. p. 26

[142] The assertion that Said Nursî, Babanzâde İsmail Hakkı, Süleyman Nazif, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik and Diyarbekirli Ahmet Cemal were members of the organisation is based largely on the fact their articles appeared in the organisations newspapers.

[143] "Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi" 19 Eylül 1324 reproduced in Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler,* İstanbul: Hurriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984, *Vol. I İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi* p. 435

to assist in the modernisation of the empire through propagating "education, industry, trade and agriculture" amongst the Kurds.

The Society started to publish a newspaper called *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan) in 1908. The articles in the newspaper described the social and economic backwardness of the Ottoman Kurds in addition to focusing on Kurdish history and literature. In an article, Sayyid Abdulkadir, criticized the Hamidian policies in eastern Anatolia which was breaking up Kurdistan by collaborating with some tribes at the expense of others and using them against the non-Muslims. Furthermore, he emphasized Ottomanism as the only way of integration.[144] In another article, Babanzade İsmail Hakkı stated that Kurds had accepted Ottoman sovereignty voluntarily and then one could not imagine any Kurdish identity without the Ottoman identity and vice versa.[145] Obviously, the Hamidian policies were the target of the members of the society but not the Ottoman state since the latter and the Ottoman identity were not obstacles for the advancement of Kurds.

The writings of the Kurdish intellectuals indicate that they described Kurds as one of the primary components of Ottoman society. The emphasis on the unification of Kurds throughout the Ottoman land and getting rid of the perpetual tribal clashes shows how Kurdish notables and intellectuals desired their nation to be a determinative and powerful member of the Ottoman state. In one of his studies, Hamit Bozarslan evaluates Kurdish nationalism from the first Kurdish newspaper *Kurdistan* to the early twenty first century. He believes *KTTC* to be the first fruits of

[144] Naci Kutlay, *21. Yuzyıla Girerken Kurtler* Istanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2002, p. 154.
[145] Babanzade îsmail Hakkı, "Kurdler ve Kurdistan", Kurd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi, issue 1 in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, p.67,69

the Kurdish cultural nationalism by also arguing that overt expressions of independence did not come out until after the First World War.[146]

In line with Bozarslan, in her dissertation Janet Klein evaluates the Kurdish press in the Ottoman Empire, both before and after the war as an attempt of Kurdish intellectuals "claiming their nations," arguing both the existence of their people "as a nation in the community of the other nations" and politically, which means either "demanding autonomy or independence". Lastly they also "claimed the leadership of their nation."[147]

Janet Klein concurs with M. E. Bozarslan's assessment of the journal as a reflection of the two political tendencies amongst Kurdish intellectuals who published it: an emphasis on freedom and a commitment to the constitutional regime, and unity within the larger framework of the Ottoman State with special emphasis on the advancement of Kurdish civilisation and Kurdish freedom. Her argument based on the articles; included an array of subjects ranging from the development of the Kurdish language as a medium of instruction in schools, to the activities of the Ottoman parliament. [148]

It is worth mentioning that there are other scholars such as Hakan Özoğlu who challenge this claim, arguing that even Kurdish organizations of the early twentieth century cannot be regarded as "nationalists." He bases his arguments on his belief that *KTTC* saw the Kurds as loyal subjects

[146] Hamit Bozarslan, "Kürt Milliyeçiliği ve Kürt Hareketi (1898-2000)," in *Milliyetçilik,* eds.Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, pp. 841-870.
[147] Janet Klein, "Claiming the Nation: The Origins and Nature of Kurdish Nationalist Discourse: A Study of the Kurdish Press in the Ottoman Empire" M.A. Thesis, Princeton University, 1996
[148] Janet Klein, "Kurdish nationalists and nonnationalist Kurdists: rethinking minority Nationalism and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1909", in *Nations and Nationalism* 13 (1), 2007, 135–153.

of the Ottoman Empire and wished to operate within the Ottoman System. [149] Özoğlu claims that the founders of the society saw themselves as Ottoman rather than Kurd.[150]

The first legal Kurdish student organization was *Kurt Talebe-i Hêvî Cemiyeti* (Kurdish Hope Student Society), which was founded in 1912 and operated until 1914. During the war years, *Hêvî* was closed and started to operate again in 1919, which lasted until 1922. According to the charter of *Hêvî*, the society first aimed to introduce Kurdish students to each other and stimulate brotherhood and unity among them. Furthermore, studies on Kurdish language and literature were on the agenda of the society. Kurdish students who came to Istanbul for educational purposes would be guided and assisted by the members of the society. It was emphasized that *Hêvî* would not get involved in politics; its aim was the scientific and social progress of the Kurds.[151] One of the founders of *Hêvî*, Zinar Silopi (Kadri Cemil Pasa) claims that Hêvî was established in order to evoke the nationalist feelings of the Kurdish people and improve Kurdish culture. While defending his claim, he mentions that the *Roj-î Kurd*, the first periodical of the society, aimed to spread the usage of Kurdish language among Kurds.[152]

Roj-î Kurd (Kurdish Sun/Day)/ 1913[153], the first periodical of Hêvî, (The Second was *Hetaw-î Kurd*/1913-1914) was published in Turkish and Kurdish. Leading Kurds like Selahaddin Eyyubi, Bedirxanzade Huseyin Kenan Paşa were featured on the cover of the periodical. The aim of *Roj-î Kurd* was explained as social and scientific progress without any political motivation.[154] There were important writers of the periodical such as Abdullah Cevdet, Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, Lutfi

[149] Hakan Özoğlu, *Kurdish Nottables and the Ottoman State*, Newyork, State University of Newyork Press, 2004, p.125
[150] Ozoğlu 2004, p. 79.
[151] Malmîsanij, *Kurt Talebe-Hevi Cemiyeti*, Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2002, p. 61.
[152] Zinar Silopi (Kadri Cemil Pasa), *Doza Kurdistan*, Ankara: Ozge Yayınları, 1991, pp. 34-35
[153] Roj means both "day" and "sun" in Kurdish.
[154] *Roj-î Kurd*, "Amaç, Meslek", *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 1, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.14, 15

Fikri, and Mithad Bedirxan. The articles published in *Roj-î Kurd* supported the aim of Hêvî since the writers generally focused on the backwardness of Kurds and tried to find solutions for illiteracy and poverty. They tried to draw attention to the high level of literacy and social well-being of the other Ottoman citizens, specifically the Armenians. Hêvî stressed the importance of the development of the Kurdish language in many cases. The necessity of the development of Kurdish letters and the constitution of a standard Kurdish alphabet was one of the issues discussed by Kurdish intellectuals of that time. Those intellectuals also stated that Kurdish youth should write in Kurdish alongside Persian, Arabic and Turkish. Writers like Xelîl Xeyalî stressed the necessity of writing in their own language for a nation, labelling writing in another nation's language as a matter of shame. He also wanted Kurdish notables, namely sheikhs and Aghas to build schools in order for Kurdish children to be educated in Kurdish.[155]

In addition to stressing the importance of the role of language and education, some writers gave significant insight related to the role of literature in the nation-building process. Abdülaziz Baban argued that Kurdish literature was full of praise for the sultans and shahs and that this was the case for all minority literature. He emphasized that art was for the benefit of society and there was nothing more influential than literature which penetrated into the souls of the people. By giving examples from Italians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Germans, he called for Kurdish poets and novelists to work for the benefit of their people.[156]

[155] Modanî X. [pen name of Xelîl Xeyalî], "Ziman û Nezanîya Kurdan" *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp. 29,30

[156] Baban Abdülaziz, "Edebiyatımız ve Edibamızdan Bir Rica" *Roj-î Kurd, issue* 4, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, p.107

In her dissertation Gülseren Duman[157] stresses that "Although the discourse of the era under consideration was far from a clear demand for separatism, as understood from the discussion in the columns of the journals of Hêvî, a way of governance based on autonomous units was envisaged". In addition to this, she underlines that, "remembering the days of semi-autonomous emirates, or the famous dynasties with a great nostalgia and regarding the disunity among the Kurds as the most deteriorating factor also could be interpreted as the footprints of the emergence of a "Kurdist" movement". Analyzing the discussions of Kurdish intellectuals in the columns of the *Roj-i Kurd* and *Hetaw-i Kurd*, by 1912 Duman claims that "the idea of nationalism emerged among the Kurdish intelligentsia who with their pens tried to reach the Kurdish people to spread their ideas and feelings".

On the contrary, Özoğlu claims that this organization cannot be seen as a nationalist association, for it did not aim at forming a Kurdish state and at propagating Kurdish autonomy or secession.

On both sides of the argument, there stands the fact that, Hêvî obviously caused a cultural and ethnic consciousness among Kurdish intellectuals.

The Great War caused much devastation for the Kurds. Deaths of Kurds serving in the Ottoman army or from wartime massacres have been estimated at 300,000, while the figure for those who died of cold or famine perhaps even more. [158] Many scholars claim that there is little evidence of any upsurge in the Kurdish national movement during the World War I. However various exiled

[157] Gülseren Duman, The Formatıons Of The Kurdısh Movement(S) 1908-1914: Explorıng The Footprınts Of Kurdısh Natıonalism, dissertation submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Boğaziçi University 2000, p.153

[158] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers*?, Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 68

Kurdish leaders are believed to have tried to strike deals for military co-operation against the Ottoman with British and Russian authorities. [159]

Government officials were sent to the region in order to strengthen the loyalties of the Kurdish tribes. Some of the Naqshbandi sheikhs acted as government officials and persuaded some tribes, which had revolted against the Ottoman State previously, to fight on the Ottoman side.[160] Not only tribe members but also Kurdish intellectuals and notables who were abroad for education or escaped from the oppression of the Committee of Union and Progress came back to struggle for the Ottoman State.

Although the Unionists' policies bothered the Kurds just before and during WWI, there was no visible nationalist movement among them. On the other hand, the conditions after the war were ripe for secessionist movements since WWI made Kurdistan an international problem and the Ottoman state was about to disintegrate. The point 12 of President Wilson's 14 Points enhanced the hope of an autonomous Kurdistan specifically among some Kurdish notables.[161] The Wilsonian principles and the disintegration of the Ottoman State encouraged the Kurds, specifically those who had a long history in previous Kurdish organizations. *Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti* / KTC (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan) was established under these conditions after the Mudros Armistice.[162]

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[159] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers*?, Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 68

[160] Fuat Dundar, *İttihat Terakkinin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)* Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. 138.

[161] Point 12 of Wilsons 14 Point: The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

[162] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers?,* Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 69

KTC included representatives of what were then the three components of Kurdish nationalism[163]; the older nationalists, who had belonged to the earlier organization with a similar name, a new layer of younger, middle-class urban nationalists and the nationalist tribal leaders. This organization grew to the point where it could claim the support of half of Istanbul's Kurds.

Sayyid Abdulkadir was the president of the KTC. He was at the same time a member of the Meclis-i Ayan. Many founders of the society were familiar with the previous Kurdish organizations. İsmail Goldas[164] gives a list of the executive committee;

First vice president: Emin Ali Bedirxan (Botan)

Second vice president: Fuat Pasha (Suleymaniye)

Secretary General: Hamdi Pasha

Accountant: Sayyid Abdullah (son of Sayyid Abdulkadir)

Founding members: Colonel Halid Bey (Dersim), Colonel Mehmet Ali Bedirxan Bey (Botan), Mehmet Emin Bey (Sulaimaniya), Hoca Ali Efendi, Sefik Ervasi (Van), Sukru Baban (Sulaimaniya), Fuad Fetullah Efendi, Sukru Mehmed (Bakırmaden)

The broad base of the KTC marked a new era for the Kurdish National Movement. The Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti's foundation indeed 'signified the true birth of modern Kurdish nationalism.[165] The KTC formation represented the evolution of Kurdish Nationalist tendencies towards a more dynamic nationalism, in which the forces mobilized by the movement blossomed to be an important factor.[166]

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[163] Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, London and New Jersey: Zed Boks, 1992, p.373

[164] İsmail Goldas, *Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti,* Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 1991, pp. 26-27.

[165] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers?,* Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 69

[166] Paul White, *Primitive Rebells or Revolutionary Modernizers?,* Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 69

Many articles in *Jîn* (Life/1918-1919), the newspaper published by the society, were nationalist propaganda.[167] Özoğlu gives an example from Siverekli Hilmi who addresses Kurdish youth:

> The time of following others is past .... Work only for your own people. Do not forget that we have a language of our own, however neglected, and a rich history. Here you have a formula for independence: action and initiative. [168]

There are many articles and editorials published in *Jîn* that ask for independency or autonomy. At the base of the solution for Kurds, there were differentiations among KTC members to achieve the autonomy or independence of Kurdistan. The first group, led by Sayyid Abdulkadir, supported Kurdistan's autonomy under Ottoman rule. The second group, which was represented by the Bedirxans and Cemilpasazades, on the other hand demanded an independent Kurdistan State. Oğuz Aytepe states that the conflict among the members seems to have been very serious at the end of 1919 and during 1920 since *Jîn* the organ of the society stopped being published and some members left the KTC. Bedirxans and Cemilpasazades established a new organization called Teskilat-ı Ictimaiye Cemiyeti / TIC (Society for Social Organization).[169]

The KTC was closed down at the end of the Turkish National War. Many of the members had to immigrate especially to Syria.

Many scholars agree that The KTC was the most nationalist Kurdish organization founded during the Late Ottoman period.

2- Emergence and Development of the Kurdish Press

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[167] Hakan Özoğlu, *Kurdish Nottables and the Ottoman State*, Newyork: State University of Newyork Press, 2004, p.82

[168] Siverekli Hilmi, "Kurd gençlerine", *Jîn*, issue 8 in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.401

["Başkalarının metaına rağbet zamanı geçti. Bazılarınızın fikirlerini işgal eden hayalât-ı vâhiyeden teberrî ediniz. Yalnız kendi milletiniz ıçırı çalışınız. Unutmayınız ki bizim de bugüne kadar ihmal edilmiş vasi bir lisanımız zengin bir tarihimiz vardır. İşte size bir düstur-ı felah: Faaliyet ve teşebbüs"]

[169] Oğuz Aytepe "Yeni Belgeler Isığında, Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti." *Tarih ve Toplum*, issue. 174 (June 1998): p.10

Benedict Anderson mentions the significance of the press in the historical process of national identity formation. He underlines the connection between the rise of the newspaper, the medium and message of which have contributed to the imagining of social communities along national lines, and the reader who imagines being tied to others by virtue of their awareness that they form a reading community connected to one another through the act of reading in a particular language about events that somehow pertain to them.[170] In this sense, the press both reflects the developing identity and contributes to it. In this part of the study, I will display a brief overview of the publications that had come out during the perio leading up to the journal *Hawar*. I believe that the target of most of the journals and the newspapers, published by Kurdish intellectuals during this period, was the promotion and development of the Kurdish identity and the encouragement of enlightenment. While writing this part, I mainly benefited from three sources.[171] The information about the publications listed below is quite limited. While I could obtain more information about some, others were lacking.

2.1. The Newspaper *Kurdistan* /1898-1902

The newspaper, *Kurdistan*, which was published from 1898 to 1902, is of great importance in the history of the Kurdish Press since it is widely accepted as the first of its kind. Mikdat Mithad Bedirxan, who was a member of the Bedirxan family, was the founder of the newspaper. He published the first five issues of the newspaper in Cairo. Then Abdurrahman Bedirxan published

[170] Benedcit Anderson, *Hayali Cemiyetler; Milliyetçiliğn Kökenleri ve Yayılması*, İstanbul: Metis yayınları, 2009, pp, 48-50

[171] 1-Fethullah Kaya, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kürt Basını*, MA. Dissertation, İstanbul:Marmara University, Social Sciences Institute, 2008. 2-Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê Rojnamegeriya Kurdî*, Ankara: Özge yayınları, 1992. 3- Müslüm Yücel, *Kürt Basın Tarihi (Tekzip),* Istanbul: Aram Yayınları, ,1998.

issues between 6-19 in Geneva, issues between 20 and 23 in London, issues between 24 and 29 in Folkston and the issues 30-31 in Geneva.[172]

The contributions in Kurdistan were written in both Turkish and Kurdish. As mentioned before, the newspaper tried to attract attention to the bad conduct of Ottoman officials in the regions where the Kurds were living. The writers repeatedly complained on the lack of literacy and they stressed the importance of education for the Kurdish people. They believed Kurdish society would capture contemporary issues through a well organized educational system. The newspaper had also an educational mission as it is stated by Mithad Bedirxan:

> At the present time, developing events in the world are written in the newspapers. We learn many things from the newspapers. Unfortunately, the Kurds who are brave and bold are deprived from such a thing. I am publishing this newspaper in order to inform you about the development around the world and to show you the way to science and talent, and also to encourage reading and writing in Kurdish.[173]

Looking at the letters from its readers, one can see that there was an approval for publishing in Kurdish. Many readers mention that there was a necessity of publishing in Kurdish. One of the letters which underlines this necessity is given in Celilê Celil's work;

> I have always looked at our people; the Kurds and worried about them day and night; why most of the Kurds are removed from art and knowledge and why they are deprived of education, although they are talented and brave. These thoughts have been worrying me a lot but now for the common good, your newspaper is being published for the sake of Kurds. [174]

2.2. The Newspaper *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (Kurdish Newspaper for the Mutual Aid and Progress) /1908-1909

[172] Janet Klein, *Claiming the Nation: the Origins and Nature of Kurdish Nationalist Discourse A study of the Kurdish Press in the Ottoman Empire*, A Master's Thesis Presented to The Faculty Of Princeton University in Candidacy for The Master's Degree, 1996, p. 2
[173] Celile Celil, *Kürt Aydınlanması*, Avesta Yayınları, Istanbul: 2000, p.26
[174] Celil 2000, p.28

With the announcement of the Constitution in 1908, Sayyid Abdulkadir, Bediuzzaman Said-i Kurdi, Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, Hacı Tevfik (Piremerd) and some other Kurdish intellectuals came together and established *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* / *KTTC* (Society for the Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan) in 1908. As the committee's organ they published the newspaper "Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi". The newspaper was published in Istanbul. Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, was chosen as grantee of the newspaper, the supervisor and the editor was Diyarbekirli Ahmet Cemil.[175]

This newspaper was the second one published in Kurdish. Alongside with Kurmancî, the Soranî dialect was also used in the newspaper. It also included articles written in Turkish.

The subjects discussed in the newspaper varied greatly. The writers wrote about the bad conditions in which Kurds live. They focused on problems relating to military and cultural issues. They also gave news from the world alongside those from the country.

In the newspaper the importance of language and education was stressed. Education in Kurdish was one of the main concerns of the writers. In the third issue Ismail Hakkı Babanzade mentions the importance of education in Kurdish with the following argument:

> In short, the basis of a nation's security is education; and the key for its education is language. The doors of modernity open with this key. I request from our favourable people to consider this important point. [176]

The intellectuals who wrote for the newspaper also called to Kurds to unite around Kurdish notables.

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[175] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê Rojnamegeriya Kurdî*, Ankara: Özge yayınları, 1992, p.35

[176] Baban: Ismail Hakkı, " Kurdçe Üzerine", issue3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, p.161, 164
["Özetçe, milletin selametinin birinci temeli eğitim ve öğretimdir; eğitim ve öğretimin anahtarı ise dildir. Uygarlığın kapısı ise bu anahtarla açılır. Himmetli ve gücü yeten insanlarımızdan, bu önemli noktayı şimdiden önlerine koymalarını rica ederim."]

2.3. The Newspaper *Şark ve Kurdistan* (East and Kurdistan) / 1908

The newspaper *Şark ve Kurdistan* was first published in Istanbul in 1908. It was a four-page newspaper that came out twice a week. The articles were both in Turkish and Kurdish written in the Arabic alphabet. Ehmed Serifê Hersekî, Bedriyê Meletiyê and Ismailê Hersekî were in charge as the representatives. The editor was Bedriyê Meletiyê. The newspaper mentioned both the situation of the Kurds in the region where they inhabited and the problems of the east and in the Balkans.

In one of Bedriyê Meletî's articles, the ill-treatment of the Kurds and bad behaviours of the previous government were mentioned. He claimed that the new Constitution would bring freedom to all Ottoman society as well as Kurdish people who were in very bad situations. [177] In another article's introduction selected by Malmisanij in his book, it is mentioned that there were two main problems with the Kurdish people; one is that there was no unity among Kurdish people, the other was the backwardness of the education and science among Kurds.[178]

2.4. The Newspaper *Kurdistan* /1908-1909

Another newspaper named *Kurdistan* was first published in Istanbul, in 1908 and ended in 1909. Malmîsanij states that, in 1908, Sureyya Bedirxan, the grandson of Mîr Bedirxan, was released from jail and for the sake of the Kurdish people, he published this journal, but soon Sureyya was accused of being reactionary (irticaci) and was sent back to jail. The newspaper was closed afterwards. [179]

[177] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.28
[178] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.28
[179] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî p.43

2.5 The Newspaper *Peyman* (Pact) / 1909

It was published in Diyarbakır, in 1909. It was published by Ittihat ve Teraki Cemiyeti. It was a weekly newspaper, published every Monday. It was a multi-language newspaper; there were articles in Syriac, Armenian, Kurdish and Arabic besides Turkish.[180] It is only because there were some Kurdish articles in it that it is classified in Kurdish Press History. According to Malmîsanij, this newspaper is important because of an article in its 12th issue. The article was written in Kurdish and stresses the dishonesty of the members of *ITC* against Kurds.[181]

Peyman, which was published in the publishing house of Diyarbakır province, came out as 12 issues. The last one was published in August 1909.

2.6. The Newspaper *Amid-î Sevda* (Amed of Love) / 1909

The newspaper was published by Ali Emiri in 1909. Mehmet Sukri Diyarbekiri was the owner. It was written on the cover that it would be published once every two weeks. It was also written that it was a scientific, social and literary newspaper.[182] This newspaper, also known as Amîd-a Reş, was published in Istanbul.

2.7. The Journal *Roj-î Kurd* (Kurdish Sun/Day) /1913

In 1913, the journal *Roj-î Kurd* was published by Kurd Hêvî Cemiyeti ("Kurdish Hope Society") a society which was founded by a small group of young students in Istanbul. It was a monthly journal and left only four issues behind before it was closed down. Each issue was about thirty pages. The aim of Roj-î Kurd was explained as social and scientific progress without any political

[180] Mehmet Mercan, *Anadolu'da Gazetecilik ve Diyarbakır Basını,* Güneydogu Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları, Diyarbakır: 1998, p.45
[181] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.50
[182] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.45

motivation.[183] Kurdish intellectuals like Xelîl Xeyalî, Abdullah Cevdet and Mehmed Salih Bedirxan wrote articles which stressed the importance of studies on the Kurdish language, history, and literature. The writers strongly stressed that Kurds should develop to comply with the necessities of the age. Modernity and European enlightenment were underlined and the need for the enlightenment of Kurds was argued. Some articles which problematize the socio-economic conditions of Kurdish geography, gave suggestions on how to improve agriculture by using modern techniques and the importance of agricultural education.

One article signed as M.X argued that everyone has to do something in order to help with the progress of the nation; either with their pens or with their wealth. The article also gives a list of the priorities of the Kurdish nation:

> "What Kurds are in need of are as follows 1) Swiftly to read and write 2) A new kind of alphabet 3) a comprehensive dictionary in order to learn the entire Kurdish language 4) an Islamic catechism [a book of Islamic learning] 5) a history of the ancestors of the Kurds and their culture 6) a collection of the names of places they live and numbers and customs of their tribes 7) a book of arithmetic 8) a grammar for Kurdish language 9) translation of Kurdish classics 10) and Kurdish literature and [their]poets' names."[184]

The intellectuals who wrote in the journal repeatedly stressed the importance of the development of the Kurdish language. The journal also gave informatin about some facilities for Kurds living

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[183] *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 1.

[184] Xelîl Xeyalî [with the pen-name"M.X"], "Ziman" *Roj-î Kurd*, issue 3, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.87, 88.
["Kurd îro muhatacê çi ne, em ewan bêjin:
1.ji b o xwendin û nivîsandinê hîref. 2. Ser terzek nû elîfbayek. 3. Jib o zanîna temamê zimanê Kurdîtîyê "qamûsek" (luxatek). 4. Ilmî halek. 5. Tarîxa bav û kalên Kurdan we an'ane ya (kultura-çev.) wan. 6. Welatê Kurdan we adet û teb'ê wan we mîqdar û nave eşîran. 7. Kitêba hîsabê. 8. Jib o zimanê Kurdan serf û nehvek
9. Tercumeyê halê mezinê di Kurdan. 10. Edebiyate kurda qe nave şairê wan"]
M.X is widely accepted as Xelîl Xeyalî's pen name, "Ziman" *Roj-î Kurd*, issue 3, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.87,88

in Istanbul such as free medical treatment and a law office which helped Kurdish people with official issues. The last issue of the Roj-î Kurd was published on 12 September, 1913.

2.8. The Journal *Hetaw-î Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) /1913-1914

Hetaw-î Kurd is another journal published by Hêvî after *Roj-î Kurd* was closed down. The first three issues were published monthly and then it was published biweekly. Each of first three issues was about thirty pages and the last two ones twenty pages. The journal was written both in Kurdish and Turkish. Like *Roj-î Kurd*, the articles in this journal were also concerned with Kurdish enlightenment. It proposed agendas to open primary/ secondary/ higher schools and schools devoted to the arts and agriculture in the Kurdish geography. Dr. Abdullah Cevdet one of the journal's writers, calls to Kurdish youth via an article to work as a teacher in the villages instead of preferring to be a province governor.[185]

The writers often stress the importance of unity and solidarity among the Kurdish tribes and called on Kurds to solve their conflicts and to unite together towards a common goal which they named; the revival of the Kurdish nation. In the 10th issue the periodical's aim was to serve Kurdishness.[186]

The journal continued to be published until the mobilization call for the war in 1914.

2.9. The Journal *Yekbûn* (Unity) /1913

Yekbûn was another journal published by Hêvî. It was written in both Turkish and Kurdish and only a few issues were published. It may have ended because of WWII.[187]

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[185] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.62
[186] Fethullah Kaya, Osmanlı Döenminde Kürt Basını, MA. Dissertation, İstanbul: Marmara University, Social Sciences Institute, 2008, p.66
[187] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.58

In the third issue it is written that the aim of the journal was to familiarize Ottoman society with the Kurds and to improve the prestige of the Kurdish people in society. In the editorial of this issue Muncî Kurdî calls for an easing of the alphabet so that more Kurdish people could read and write.[188]

In an article in the second issue it says; "Although we are not less than other nations, we cannot have our sovereignty. This is because we are not educated and illiterate."[189]

In another article it says; "At least 40% of the Kurds should be literate in Kurdish, to make it happen Yekbûn calls for Kurdish youth to go to Kurdistan's villages and mountains and be teachers for Kurdish people." [190]

Citing the articles one can see that the journal paid importance to the improvement of the Kurdish language and education.

2.10. The Journal *Bang-î Kurd* (Call for Kurd/Kurdistan) / 1914

It was a journal published by Cemaleddîn Baban in 1914. The journal was written in both Kurdish and Turkish and acording to Dr. Kemal Mezher Ahmed, who oversaw the first three issues, each issue was 24 pages and it ended when WWI began. [191]

2.11. The Journal *Jîn* (Life) /1918-1919

The Journal *Jîn* was published in Istanbul, in 1918. This journal was the organ of Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti/ KTC (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan). The editor of the first twenty issues was Müküslü Hamza who was also one of the founders of KTC and the last five issues were managed

[188] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.59
[189] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.58
[190] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.58
[191] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.177

by Memduh Selim Bey. [192] This journal was published in both Kurdish and Turkish. There were two dialects of the Kurdish language; Soranî and Kurmancî. In the first issue its aim was stated as follows:

> Jîn isn't published for financial interest. Its aim is to convey knowledge about the Kurd's historical life, its national rights, and its social conditions which have been neglected for ages.[193]

In the twenty-third issue, there was a notification that the editorial team had decided to make the journal a political one. [194]

As mentioned before there are many articles and editorials published in *Jîn* that ask for independence or autonomy. Many articles aimed to encourage the Kurds to identify themselves as Kurds, and to be proud of their history, language and literature and to educate and modernize themselves as a requirement of the age.[195]

2.12. The Newspaper *Jîn* (Life) (date unknown)

The exact date of the first publishing is not known.[196] Memduh Selîm was the editor. It is believed that the newspaper was published by *Kürt Teşkilat-ı İçtimaiye* a committee founded by a group separated from KTC. The reason for this belief is that Memduh Selîm was with this group.[197]

2.13. The Newspaper *Gazî* (Call) /1919

[192] Fethullah Kaya, "Osmanlı Döenminde Kürt Basını", MA. Dissertation, Istanbul, Marmara University, Social Sciences Institute, 2008, p.68
[193] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.65
[194] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.65
[195] Müslüm Yücel, *Kürt Basın Tarihi (Tekzip),* Istanbul: Aram Yayınları, ,1998, p.58
[196] Kaya 2008, 54
[197] Kaya 2008, 54

According to Ekrem Cemil Pasa's memories this newspaper was published by the Kurdistan Committee founded in Diyarbakir, in 1919. [198]

2.14. The Newspaper *Pêşkewtin* (Progress) / 1920-1922

The newspaper was published in Sulaimaniya in 1920. It was a weekly newspaper and continued its journey until 1922. 118 issues came out then it left its place to *Bang-î Kurdistan*.

2.15. The Newspaper *Bang-î Kurdistan* (Call for Kurdistan) /1922-1926

It started to be published in Sulaimaniya in 1922. In this weekly newspaper, whose editor was Mirliwa Mustafa Pasha, along side with Kurdish articles there were also articles in Turkish and in Persian.[199] Just under the newspaper's logo, it was written that it was a literary, social and scientific weekly newspaper. The newspaper was distributed in Kerkuk and Hewlêr[200] In the first issue, the editor of the newspaper Mirliwa Mustafa, explains the newspaper's target as;

> This newspaper is for all the Kurds. It is for awakening the brave Kurds and informing them about their ancestors. Kurds are deprived from everything; they are unaware of the world. The reason for that is ignorance. This is not the age of war and weapons, but the age of education and science. Kurds! Listen to Bang-î Kurdistan! Bang-î Kurdistan is for the enlightenment of the motherland and its children.[201]

In his article titled as "The Reasons for Kurdistan remains undeveloped", one of the writers of the newspaper, Refîk hîlmî calls for the readers to keep away from grudges and blemishes and to

[198] Malmîsanij and Mahmûd Lewendî 1992, p.288
[199] Cemal Haznedar, "Bang-î Kurdistan", The Periodical Bîr, issue 1, Diyarbakır, 2005, pp. 68-81, also available in: http://www.kovarabir.com/bangi-kurdistan-1922-1926-silemani (last accessed in 4th of December 2011)
[200] Two provinces in South Kurdistan
[201] Haznedar, pp. 68-81

search for the underlying reason for the non-development of the East. The writer underlines the importance of education for the Kurds to achieve the needs of modern times.[202]

There are three other newspapers that came out in Sulaimaniya at the time of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji who was the leader of several Kurdish uprisings against the British Mandate of Iraq. Some of them were; *Roj-î Kurd*istan, Bang-î Heq Umêdî Istiqlal. They were political, social and literary newspapers published in Sulaimaniya between 1922-1923 and they were all devoted to the improvement of the Kurdish identity. [203] These newspapers and journals published in Sulaimaniya were all in Soranî dialect.[204]

2.16. The Newspaper *Riya Teze* (New Path) / 1930-1937

There is also a newspaper published in Yerevan in 1930. It was known as the Kurdish organ of the Armenian Communist Party. [205] It was written in Kurmancî and distributed to many places in the Soviet Union. At first an Armenian, Harûtyûn Mkirtçyan, was in charge of the editorial, then a Kurd, named Cerdoyê Gênco took his place. In the Soviet Union, with the decision of the state, and the concern of the Armenian Government, Erebê Şemo and Îshaq Marogûlov started to work on a Kurdish alphabet. They adopted a Kurdish- Latin alphabet. And after a while they published a self-study book to learn Kurdish, named "Xwe bi xwe hînbûna Xwendin û Nivîsandina Kurdî". After this work done on the Kurdish language there came the newspaper in order to spread out the language.[206]

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[202] Haznedar, pp. 68-81

[203] Cemal Haznedar, "*Roj-î Kurd*istan", The Periodical Bîr, issue 1, also available in: http://www.kovarabir.com/roji-kurdistan-1922-1923-silemani (last accessed in 4th of December 2011)

[204] Amir Hassanpour, *Kurdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil, 1918-1985,* Istanbul: Avesta yayınları, 2005 p.350

[205] Hassanpour 2005, p.382,3

[206] Têmûrê Xelîl, "Rewşa Zimanê Kurdî li Komarên Sovyeta Berê û Niha" in the journal "Bîr" available in: http://www.kovarabir.com/temure-xelil-rewsa-zimane-kurdi-li-komaren-sovyeta-bere-u-niha/ (last accessed in 5th of December 2011)

This newspaper is also cited in the 8th issue of the journal Hawar. There Celadet Bedirxan, with his pen name Herekol Azîzan says that, "In Yerevan, there is a newspaper called Riya Teze and it uses the new alphabet and an original Kurdish." [207] The newspaper was closed down with Stalin's decision in 1937.

2.17. The Journal *Zar-î Kirmancî* (Kurdish Language) 1926

Zar-î Kirmancî was published by Huznî Mukriyanî in Rawandiz in 1926. It was a bimonthly journal written in Soranî.[208]

The common dominators of the publications, which are listed above, are the given significance to the unity, alliance, enlightenment and education of Kurdish people. Many of these publications showed great interest in the improvement of the language and the adoption of a new alphabet. Because of this, I think these publications served for a collective Kurdish identity yet they remained very weak and did not spread a lot among Kurdish people.

3. Language in Kurdish National Discourse

Anthony Smith states that "It is the intellectuals – poets, musicians, painters, etc- who have proposed and elaborated the concepts and language of the nation and nationalism and have, through their musing and research, given voice to wider aspirations that they have conveyed in appropriate images, myths and symbols". [209] In the first chapter of this study, I tried to display how intellectuals usually take steps towards endowing language with the power of becoming a collective identity symbol and a medium of written communication. I have also laid down the

[207] İbid.
[208] Amir Hassanpour, *Kurdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil,* 1918-1985, Istanbul: Avesta yayınları, 2005, p.280, 350
[209] Anthony D. Smith, *National İdentity,* London; Newyork: Penguin Books, 1991, p.93

basis on which language becomes a core marker of an ethnic identity and how nationalist intellectuals base their nationalistic claims pointing to language as a sign of distinctness of a nation. With this respect, in this part, I will concentrate on some of the periodicals which came into prominence through the period up to Hawar. I hope to find out whether the language was one of the components of the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation during this period. For this, I chose to focus on *Kurdistan* because it is the first of its kind, then on Kürd Teavün ve Teraki Gazetesi to discover the atmosphere after the announcement of the Constitution in 1908. The journals *Roj-î Kurd* and *Hetaw-î Kurd*s also captured my interest because I think they differ from the previous ones through its stronger emphasis on language as a core marker of national identity. Furthermore, it caused a cultural and ethnic consciousness among Kurdish intellectuals. Looking through the journal *Jîn* will also give an idea to find out how WWI and Wilson's principles affected Kurdish intellectual discourse after the war.

Mostly educated members of the tribal or religious elite reflected Kurdish *ethnie* among the first Kurdish nationalist associations in Istanbul. It was a thin stratum of these educated Kurds who took it upon themselves at first to 'educate the Kurds' through the Kurdish print media from 1898 to 1918 and later to 'awaken' the Kurdish nation which is an expression that regularly occurs in the journals and newspapers of that time.

The first Kurdish journal, *Kurdistan*, published initially in Cairo in 1898, emphasized its educational mission. Each issue contained articles on contemporary world politics, of which the editor asked the Kurds to be more aware of their identity and their enemy. The importance of being literate was frequently repeated and it was asked of Kurds to read and study more, with repeated appeals to Kurdish chieftains to make efforts towards the education of their subjects.

Martin van Bruinessen comments on this as an indication perhaps that not only the tribal elite but also subjected peasantry are included in its idea of the Kurds as a people.[210]

The basic concern of the newspaper was promoting Kurdish identity, modernization of society and the enlightenment of the Kurdish people. Mithad Bedirxan, the first publisher of the newspaper, complained of the lack of literacy among Kurdish people. He wanted Kurdish society to capture the contemporary issues and he hoped Kurdish people would be more literate, as seen in his second petition to Sultan Abdulhamid;

> I, publish this newspaper in Kurdish with the hope of educating the Kurds in arts and science and raising their consciousness to the modern level.[211]

The newspaper *Kurdistan*, frequently called Kurdish leaders to educate Kurdish people in art and science. This call is apparent in many articles, just like the one below:

> Appreciate education, it is explicit that science is important. You need to know that you are to be blamed that our people are illiterate and uneducated. You will be brought to account on judgement day. Build schools in the villages, make our children be educated. Send them to the big cities which provide good education.[212]

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[210] Martin van Bruinessen, "Constructions of ethnic identity in the late Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey: The Kurds and their Others", paper presented at the workshop "Social identities in the late Ottoman Empire", Department of Middle Eastern Studies, New York University, March 8. 1997.

[211] Mikdad Midhat Bedirxan, "Şevketlu Azametlu Sultan İkinci Abdukahamid Han Hazretlerine Kulca Dilekçemdir", *Kurdistan*, issue 5, in reprint by M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,p. 168

[212] "Rutbet'ul Ilmî E'ler-Ruteb (2)", *Kurdistan*, issue 9, in reprint by M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,pp. 225-226.
["Qedrê xwendinê bizanin. Mirovê xwendi bî, ba Xwedê teala wek nebîya xweyqedir dibe. Hûnhemî bizanibin ku gunehê van mirovên weha cahîl mayîn dikeve para we jî. Roja qiyametê wê ji we jî bêt pirsîn. (...) Li gundan mekteban bidin çêkirin, zarûyên wan rebana bidin xwendin. Bajarên mezin mekteb û medreseyên rind hene. Bişînin wan deran, da bielîn sin'et û hunerê."]

The need for the propagation of education amongst the Kurds was stressed also in letters from the writers. "You know that Kurds by their manner [behaviour, the way they are] are an excellent kind of human beings, they are courageous, they are gallant; their shortfall is in knowledge." [213]

As I mentioned in the first part of this chapter some scholars claim that the writers in *Kurdistan* viewed the Kurdish question through the lens of Ottoman patriotism[214] and identified the Ottoman Empire as their primary homeland of which Kurdistan formed an indivisible part. They based their arguments on some statements by the writers of the newspaper. As an example, Mikdat Bedirxan wrote to the Sultan in his first petition; "As you know, Kurds are the most prominent people of the Ottoman Empire who will live forever." [215]

Even if they viewed the state as their state, it is also observed that the writers called Kurdistan as Kurds' land and they describe themselves as a distinct nation. In one of his articles, Abdurrahman Bedirxan, who continued to publish the newspaper after his brother, calls to Kurds by saying;

> You have to know that if the officers who are on duty over you are far from justice, your homeland would not be yours. Now Kurdistan is under the domination of Abdulhamid. Those officers are sent by him. However, the owners of Kurdistan are Kurds. If an enemy comes to our land, Kurds will die for Kurdistan. If you want Kurdistan to be yours forever, you have to get those officers out of your land.[216]

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[213] Ş.M, "Kaxidek e ji Kurdistanê hatî" (A letter from Kurdistan), *Kurdistan, issue 13,* in reprint by M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,pp.259,260
["Hun jî dizanin ku Kurmanc bi xilqeta xwe new'ek ji benî Ademên mumtaz in, şecî'in, ciwamêr in; kêmayîya wan ilm û marîfet e."]

[214] Djene Rhys Bajalan, *Jön Kürtler*, Istanbul: Avesta, 2010 p. 90

[215] Mikdad Midhat Bedirxan, "Şevketlu Azametlu Sultan İkinci Abdukhamid Hazretlerine Kulca Dilekçemdir", *Kurdistan*, issue 4, in reprint by M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991, pp. 153,155

[216] Abdurrahman Bedirxan " Sebat'ul-Mulkî Bî'l-edl", *Kurdistan*, issue 9, in reprint by M. Emîn Bozarslan, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,p.229
["Gelî Kurdno! Hûn qenc bizanin ku heger welatê we de me'mûrên serê we ji edaletê dûr ketin, welatê we destê xweyî de namîne. Nuho Kurdistan jî weke welatên di binê Tirka binê Ebdulhemid de yeİ me'murên serê wei Ebdulhemid bi rê dike. Lakîn xweyîyê kurdistanê Kurd in. Wekî neyarek hat ser Kurdistanê xwe ser de bidin kuştin. Erdê wê derê Kurd dikolin, darên wê derê Kurd diçinin: perên me'mûrên xunkar rêidke serê we, un Kurd didin. Loma Kurdistan ya we ye. (...) heger we divê Kurdistan her di destê we de bimîne... divê hû me'mûrên zalim ji welatê xwe derxînin."]

In another article, Abdurrahman Bedirxan stresses the importance of a nation with the following words;

> Since one cannot survive alone, people should consider themselves in need of the society among which they live. For humans the first thing to do is to struggle for that society to survive and for the honour of the society. To survive, the society should not let its homeland be occupied by the outsiders. Therefore people are first responsible for their homeland, than the society among which they live and finally their families.(...)Every nation behaves by keeping national concerns in mind and finds individuals interests in general national benefits. [217]

Following these words in this article, Bedirxan points out other nations that had gotten rid of their sovereigns by working and struggling hard and had survived. He calls on Kurds not to fight against each other, but like other nations, to defend their honour. In the same article, he mentions Sheikh Ubeydullah as a man of honour and again he invites Kurds to struggle for their freedom.

In many articles written by Abdurrahman Bedirxan, there appears complaints about the Sultan which are getting louder and louder, and Bedirxan invites Kurds not to accept his bad behaviours and to struggle against him;

> That's enough; open your eyes, raise your hands, draw your swords. Our homeland is on fire; you are all in danger; there is no security for you and your woman and children. Unite around your notables; and release yourself from this injustice![218]

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[217] Abdurrahman Bedirxan, "Kürdlere", Kurdistan, issue 27, from M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,p.475
["Kürdler! İnsan şahıs itibariyle temin-i hayat-ı hususiyesi için lâzım olan esbabın tehliye ve ihzarına nasıl ki mecburdur, münferiden yaşamak insan için mümkün olmamaısna ve bir cemiyete intisabla yaşamanın mecburiyeti tabiyeden bulunmasına nazaran, her ferdin hayatı, menfaatı, saadeti, mensubu bulunduğu cemiyet ile olacak. (...) her millet, daima menafi-i milliyesini narzar-ı itibara alaraktan hareket eder ve menafi-i şahsiyesini menafi-i umumiye-i milliyesinde bulur."]

[218] Abdurrahman Bedirxan, "Welat-Weten", *Kurdistan*, issue 9, from M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,pp.227,228

These calls for fighting and uniting continues frequently, in another article which I interpret as being a call for independency, Bedirxan stresses that it is a shame that Kurds, who are well known for their bravery, are serving this cruel state and governor. He mentions that one of the reasons for this situation is that Kurds are not united, and Turks are benefiting from this conflict among Kurds. He continues by saying that;

> There are notables who are fair, brave and merciful; our leader should be Kurd; why should we remain under the domination of Turks?

Although there are some articles that could be read as proof of the idea that Kurdish intellectuals who wrote for *Kurdistan* identified themselves as Ottoman, I believe that the intellectuals of that time demanded to have their own willpower in the name of their nation. I believe so because they laid down a definition of Kurds as a separate nation, they also mentioned their love for their homeland, namely Kurdistan and blessed their nation as brave and merciful. Futhermore they called on Kurds not to give in to the Sultan and his officers' behests, but to claim the leadership of their nation.

Tracing the articles in the newspaper *Kurdistan*, I did not observe an emphasis on the role of language as a component of national identity. The only indication that it played a part is their act of publishing the newspaper in the Kurdish language. I interpret this attitude of not writing in Turkish, with the exception of some articles, as these intellectuals believing it would be better to write in their own language in order to catch Kurds' attention. They may also have believed that Kurds should read and write in their own language. In their calls for education, they wanted

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["Êdî bes e; çavê xwe vein, destê xwe hilînin, şîrên xwe bikşînin. Welatê we nav agirî de maye; un hemî nav tehlukeyê dene; tu emnîyet ji we re, jin û zarwa re nemaye. Herin dor meziinên xwe herin dor ulemaya xwe îttîfaq bikin; xwe ji binê vê zulma me'mura hilînin."]

Kurdish notables to guide Kurdish children to be literate in their language. This call for reading and writing in Kurdish shows Kurdish elites believed that only through an education in Kurdish language could Kurds catch the contemporary world and build a common modern identity.

Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti / *KTTC* (Society for the Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan), which was founded in 1908, was the first union, which attempted to promote Kurdish identity.

The declaration of the *KTTC* was published in the first issue of its periodical organ, *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan). The *KTTC* explained that the aim of society was to conceive the tools and ways by which noble Kurdish people could meet the requirements of the new age therefore increasing their education levels and becoming a prosperous society via protecting the Constitution, which was based on the principles of shariah and as it is testimonial of the country's salvation.[219] From this declaration one can understand how the foundation of the *KTTC* imagined the constitution as a way for the development of the Kurdish people and it partly explains the reasons why they found a cure in the new regime. One can also see that the enlightenment of Kurds was the main concern.

In order to analyze the society's discourse and the role that language plays in constructing its identity, one can have a look on articles published in its newspapers.

As previously mentioned, in these newspapers, a great significance was given to the Kurdish language and education. The demand for education in Kurdish for Kurdish people can be read in many articles. In the third issue, Ismail Hakkı Babanzade mentions the importance of an education in Kurdish.

[219] "Cem'iyet'in Beyannamesi" [The Declaration of the Organization] issue 1, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.40,41

> In short, the basis of the nation's security is education; and the key to education is language. The doors of modernity open with this key. I request from our favourable people to consider this important point. [220]

This article like others of the same writer stresses the importance of the enlightenment of the Kurdish people and claims that the only way for this is an education in Kurdish.

Reading through articles published in *KKTG* it is seen that the intellectuals of that time attempted to develop the Kurdish language and spread education in the Kurdish region, in order to enable Kurdish people to catch up with the requirements of the age. This indicates to me that Kurdish elites of the time were trying to create national awareness by stressing a common language and history. Bringing forth and showing concern about the situation of Kurds is also evidence of their intention to create a national awareness.

Evidence of the intent to awaken Kurds can be found out in the articles written on the importance of education to make the Kurds' situation better. Ismail Hakkı Babanzade was among the writers who discussed the significance of education for Kurds in his articles. In one of his articles he stressed that for the "eastern people and especially Kurds who are most underdeveloped among them" working day and night was a vital necessity and he drew the greatest attention to education.

> The starting point should be; education, then again education, What is next? Again education, and again and again! God, bless those of us who are working for the sake of this. [221]

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[220] Ismail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdçe Üzerine", *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, issue 3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.161-164
["Özetçe, milletin selametinin birinci temeli eğitim ve öğretimdir; eğitim ve öğretimin anahtarı ise dildir. Uygarlığın kapısı ise bu anahtarla açılır. Himmetli ve gücü yeten insanlarımızdan, bu önemli noktayı şimdiden önlerine koymalarını rica ederim."]
221 İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdler ve Kurdistan", issue 1 in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.67,69

In the same way, Said-î Kurdî noted that education would be a means for Kurds to fight against three enemies: poverty, ignorance and disputes among themselves. Said-î Kurdî argued that the first weapon to fight against these enemies was education. In the second line came unity and national love, and the third one was individual efforts for one's people. Kurdî expressed his will for Kurds as "study, study and collaborate, collaborate."[222]

> (...) To compete with our enemies, the sword of justice is education, the second one is unity of the nation and the third one working individually.
> Last will; study, unite and collaborate. [223]

In line with this argument, here's another article from Xelîl Xeyalî stressing the importance of the education for Kurds;

> Friends! Open schools, make your children learn science, don't let them live in ignorance. It is our duty to obey the order "Seek for science from the cradle to the grave." [224]

All the articles written on the significance of education make me believe that the elites pointed to education as the cure for the ill-situated Kurds; the idea of enlightenment was also constructed through this discourse.

["Çalışmaya nereden başlamak gerekeceği konusuna gelince, önce eğitim. Sonra yine eğitim. Daha sonra? Daha sonra yine eğitim, yine eğitim, yine eğitim! Cenab- Hak bu uğurda çalışan himmet sahiplerimizi hayırla başarılı kılsın!"]

[222] Molla Seîd, "Bedîüzzaman Molla Said-i Kurdî'nin Nasayıhı", *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, issue 1, in the eproduction by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.54,55
["Wesîyeta paşî: Xwendin, xwendin, xwendin û destê hev girtin, destê hev girtin."]

[223] Molla Seîd, "Bedîüzzaman Molla Said-i Kurdî'nin Nasayıhı", *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, issue 1, in the eproduction by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.54,55
["Ew şûrê edlê mearif û xwendin e: ê diduyan îttîfaq û mehebbeta millî ye; ê sisîyan însan'ê bi nefsa xwe şixula xwe bike û mîna sefîlan ji qudreta xelqê hêvî neke û pişta xwe nedet'ê."]

[224] Xelîl Xeyalî, Weten û Ittîfaqa Kurmanca, , in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.391-395
["Arkadaşlar, okullar açınız, çocuklarınızı bilim öğrenmeye çalıştırınız, bilgisizlik ayıbını onlara layık görmeyiniz. Çünkü "Beşikten mezara kadar bilimi arayınız"]

As part of the arguments surrunding education, the debates on the Kurdish language were brought to the agenda of the Kurdish elites. The debates were about the improvement of the language, an education in the mother tongue of Kurdish and its relationship to the development of a people.

In some columns, the Kurdish language was stressed as the 'only solid way' for a Kurd to express oneself just like in the anecdote of Said-î Kurdî in the mental hospital, where to his doctor, he said that;

> A Kurd could explain his views in Turkish only to a limited extent. [225]

In addition, Ismail Hakkı Babanzade's following statements was an indication that he considered language as a component of being a nation, since he stresses that cutting a nation's tongue makes the nation dumb and muddleheaded;

> While the previous government was the enemy of thought, he was both enemy of thought and language for Kurds. While he was cutting off other people's heads, he was cutting off both heads and the tongues of Kurds. ... Cutting out a nation's tongue makes the nation dumb and muddleheaded; I think, this is the biggest cruelty that causes pain and disaster, both of which are impossible to maintain. [226]

He also warned that Kurds without a tongue, being dumb, would not only lose their nation but also their doctrine. [227] In another article, he stresses the importance of language in national

[225] Bediüzzaman-ı Kurdî "Molla Said-i Kurdî'nin Tımarhane Hatırâtı" [The Memoirs of Mullah Said-î Kurdî from the Mental Hospital], in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp. 236-241.

[226] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdler ve Kurdistan", issue 1, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.67-69
["Eski hükumet genel olarak düşünce düşmanı iken, Kürt halkı hakkında hem düşünce hem de dil düşmanı olmuştu; diğer halkların yalnız kafasını kesmeye çabalarken, Kürtlerin önce dilini, diliyle birlikte kafasını kesmeye çalışmıştı. (...) dilin kesilmesi bir milleti hem dilsiz hem de sersem eder. Bizce zulmün en acısı, en onarım kabul etmez yıkımlar gerçekleştireni işte budur."]

[227] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdler ve Kurdistan" issue 1, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, pp.67-69

development by defining Kurds devoid of development with a cut tongue.[228]In this article, Babanzade further argued that among the Muslim constituents of the Ottoman Empire, except for Turks and Arabs, the others did not have a collected literature, books or language. Furthermore, Non-Muslim constituents were also more privileged, as they had opportunities for developing their own languages. However, unlike Turks and non-Muslims, the native tongues of Muslim communities were not allowed and therefore not given the chance to develop.

> Kurds do not have a book on Kurdish Grammar; Kurds are bereaved of literature, science and technology, related to this they are bereaved of pieces of art and science. How can a people develop in this situation. ... Power and authority are up to education, and education is a matter of language.[229]

In such a context, Ismail Hakkı discussed the possibility of the assimilation of minority languages. He warns, those who believed that they could destroy the Kurdish language and eradicate Kurds by letting them be bereaved of literature, science and technology, by saying;

> These attempts would cause nothing except wasting time with a nonsense and fruitless thing. Even in the times when ignorance was so high, any nation in the Ottoman Empire did not lose its existence and identity. The Kurdish Language has been surviving like this for thousands of years. Neither in the times of Persians, Romans, Arabs, nor Tatars and Turks this language did not alienate; on the contrary the speakers of this language have diffused everywhere day by day. I want to say that a language can keep its existence despite of being bereaved of grammar books and dictionaries.[230]

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[228] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdçe Üzerine", issue 3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998 pp.141-143

[229] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdçe Üzerine", issue 3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998 pp.141-143
["Kürtlerin dilbilgisi kitapları yok. Kürtlerin matbaası ve basılmış eserleri yok. Kürdler edebiyattan, bilim ve tekniklerden ve bunlara bağlı olan bilim ve sanat eserlerinden yoksundurlar. Bir halk bu durumla nasıl gelişebilir.! (...) Güç ve ototrite eğitimdedir. Eğitim ise dile bağlıdır."]

[230] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdçe Üzerine", issue 3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998 pp.141-143
["Böyle bir girişim, anlamsız ve saçma birşeyle uğraşmaktan başka yarar sağlamaz. – Ne gerek, milletlerin hiçbiri varlık ve kimliğini kaybetmedi. Kürdçe de binlerce yıldan beri bu durumuyla sürüp gidiyor. Ne İranlılar, ne Romalılar, ne Araplar, ne Tatarlar ne Türkler zamanında bu dil yabancılaşmamıştır; tam tersine bu dili konuşanlar

In addition, in the same article, Babanzade emphasizes the role of the mother tongue in education, he notes that, "if a Kurdish child were educated in Kurdish, it would be more beneficial because the children could use its most valuable years in advancing in the science rather than wasting that time with learning a different language", namely Ottoman Turkish. He adds that, "Kurds should learn Kurdish first by writing a grammar book and a dictionary".[231]

According to Hroch, one of the three main groups of demands that the programme of a national movement contains was the development of a national culture based on the local language, and its normal use in education, administration and economic life.[232] Regarding this statement, one can draw the conclusion that *KKTG* had some characteristics of a national movement one of which was demanding education in the national language with intent to improve said language.

Here I should say that about the language used in education there was a kind of diversity. Giving an example, Hamdi Süleyman from Erzincan argued that since there weren't any educational materials to support teaching in the Kurdish language, it wasn't a good idea to educate in Kurdish. He was in favour of education in the Turkish language. He went on by stressing that he did not mean to destroy the language of a courageous people he just wanted to discuss his ideas, as it was part of the freedom of expression. [233]

Reading between the lines of the newspaper, one can see that the endeavours that the society went through had positive outcomes in the Kurdish provinces, although there were not many of them. For instance, teachers from the provinces showed interest and tried to share their

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istilacılarınkine benzer daha büyük bir yetnekle günden güne dört tarafa yayılmışlardır. Demek istiyorum ki bir dil, dilbilgisi kitaplarına ve sözlüklere sahip olmasa da varlığını korur."]

[231]İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, "Kurdçe Üzerine", issue 3, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998 pp.141-143

[232] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I* /198, London, March-April 1993, p.6

[233] Erzincanlı Hamdi Suleyman, "Kurdistan'da Maarifin Tarz-ı Tensîkve İhyası" , in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, p.370-372

experience and studies of the Kurdish language and literature, as understood in the society's reply to a teacher. This teacher had sent a telegraph to the society and talked about his books *Kavaid-i Lisan-ı Kurdî* (The Grammar of the Kurdish Language) and *Edebî Tatbikat Örneği* (Literary Practice Sample). The newspaper explained that they had not yet received his mentioned books.[234]

As mentioned previously, the first legal Kurdish student organization was *Kurt Talebe-î Hêvî Cemiyeti* / *KTHC* (Kurdish Hope Student Society), which was founded in 1912 and operated until 1914. During the war years, Hêvî was closed and started to operate again in 1919, which lasted until 1922. As it is understood from its charter, the society's aim was to introduce Kurdish students to each other and encourage brotherhood and unity among them. Furthermore, studies on the Kurdish language and literature were on the agenda of the society. Kurdish students who came to Istanbul for educational purpose would be guided and assisted by members of the society. It was emphasized that Hêvî would not be involved in politics; the aim was the scientific and social progress of the Kurds.[235] One of the founders of Hêvî, Zinar Silopi (Kadri Cemil Pasa) claims that Hêvî was established in order to evoke nationalist feelings in the Kurdish people and to improve Kurdish culture. While defending his claim, he mentions that the *Rojî Kurd* (both Turkish and Kurdish), the first periodical of the society, aimed to spread the usage of the Kurdish language among Kurds.[236]

[234] Açık Sütunlar, in the reprint by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, p. 303.
[235] Malmîsanij, *Kurt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti*, Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2002, p. 61.
[236] Zinar Silopi (Kadri Cemil Pasa), Doza Kurdistan (Kurdistan Davası) Ankara: Ozge Yayınları, 1991, pp. 34-35

Hêvî is believed to be the most successful of all Kurdish organisations founded before 1914. Between August 1912[237] and September 1914, it published three journals: *Roj-î Kurd*, *Hetaw-î Kurd* and *Yekbûn* ("Kurdish Sun/Day", "Kurdish Sun" and "Unity"). With the outbreak of the First World War almost all its active members were conscripted into the Ottoman army.[238]

Just like their predecessors, the young members of Hêvî were also aiming to enlighten and educate Kurds. They intended to arouse national identity. This time the tone adopted was more urgent.

Various solutions were offered throughout the pages of *Roj-î Kurd* and *Hetaw-î Kurd* regarding the underdevelopment of the Kurds.

In the periodical *Hetaw-î Kurd*, Dr. Abdullah Cevdet encouraged the Kurdish Youth to return to the villages to propagate education: "Kurdish Youth! When you prefer being a teacher or the founder of a school in a village to being a district governor, only at that time you will have done what is to be done." [239] Examples of these calls for returning to the homeland and enlightening other Kurds emerged in *Roj-î Kurd* pages as well. In his article Bulgaristanlı Doğan, calls for the intellectuals to return to their homeland and do their duty of enlightening the people. [240]

In one of his articles Xelîl Xeyalî, with a pen-name M.X, stated that everyone ought to offer what they can to help with the progress of the nation; be that with their pens or with their wealth. The article went on to list the priorities of the Kurdish nation:

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[237] According to the Kurdish historian Malmîsanij Hêvî was founded on 27 Temmuz 1328 (9 August 1912) Malmîsanij, *Kürt Talebe,Hêvi Cemiyeti, İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği,* Istanbul: Avesta, 2002, p. 50

[238] Malmîsanij, *Kürt Talebe,Hêvi Cemiyeti, İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği,* Istanbul: Avesta, 2002, pp. 163-187

[239] "Kurd gazetesi yazarlarına", *Hetaw-i Kurd* 5 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1329, in Malmîsanij Kürt Talebe,Hêvi Cemiyeti, İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği, Istanbul: Avesta, 200, pp. 247-249

[240] Bulgaristanlı Doğan, "Milletinize karşı vazifeniz" *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.47/49

> "What Kurds are in need of are as follows 1) Swiftly to read and write 2) A new kind of alphabet 3) a comprehensive dictionary in order to learn the entire Kurdish language 4) an Islamic catechism [a book of Islamic learning] 5) a history of the ancestors of the Kurds and their culture 6) a collection of the names of places they live and numbers and customs of their tribes 7) a book of arithmetic 8) a grammar for Kurdish language 9) translation of Kurdish classics 10) and Kurdish literature and [their]poets' names."[241]

As it is understood from the article above, language was one of the main concerns of the elites of this society. Promoting a language to a language that has a prosperous writing system suitable for education, was the subject that caught many members' attention.

One of the main debates carried out in the periodicals of the society was on the question of whether the language of education for Kurds would be Kurdish or Turkish. Kurdish intellectuals concentrated on the question of why Kurdish scholars could write in Persian, Arabic and Turkish but not in Kurdish and the discussions carried out on this subject strengthened the belief that the promotion of a standard Kurdish alphabet was necessary. Xelîl Xeyalî was one of the writers who mostly focused on the issue of language and alphabet. In one of his articles he wrote that:

> There are lots of nations in the world who read and write in their own languages, publish books, educate their children in their own schools and none of them says "writing and reading in our languages is difficult!" It is a shame to accept any another nation's language. The reason for when the English, German, French, Russian and Italians go somewhere, they immediately open schools is that they want to practice and to protect their languages.[242]

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[241]M.X, "Ziman" *Roj-î Kurd* issue 3, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.87/88
["ji bo xwendin û nivîsandinê hîref. 2. Ser terzek nû elîfbayek. 3. Jib o zanîna temamê zimanê Kurdîtîyê "qamûsek" (luxatek). 4. Ilmî halek. 5. Tarîxa bav û kalên Kurdan we an'ane ya (kultura-çev.) wan. 6. Welatê Kurdan we adet û teb'ê wan we mîqdar û nave eşîran. 7. Kitêba hîsabê. 8. Jib o zimanê Kurdan serf û nehvek
9. Tercumeyê halê mezinê di Kurdan. 10. Edebiyate kurda qe nave şairê wan"]

[242] Modanî X., "Ziman û Nezanîya Kurdan", *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, , pp.67/68
["Çira ku îro dunya di dunyayê de hewqa milet û qewm heye ku "em yekî wan qenc nas nakin" hed û hesabî wî tune bi zimanê xwe dixwînin û dinivîsin, kitêban çêdikin û mekteb û medreseyê xwe de talimî zarokê di xwe dikin. Yek ji wan ranebûye negotiye ku zimanê, xwendin û nivîsandina wî zehmet e. Ez dê bêşermî zimanê milletek de qebûl

Afterwards he addresses the sheikhs and teachers to strive, stressing the necessity of reading and writing quickly for Kurds to get rid of ignorance.[243]He wanted Kurdish notables and teachers from Kurdish regions to send their ideas about how the Kurdish language would be promoted.

One of the issues regarding the revival of the language was the reformation of the alphabet. For an appropriate Kurdish writing system, the choice of which alphabet to adopt was discussed. The question was whether to take Arabic, Latin or Armenian letters. Reading into this debate, one may question the tendency of the authors, whether they were stimulated by an Islamic point of view, or western.

Mehmed Salih Bedirxan was one of those who supported Arabic letters. Using the pen name M. S. Azîzî, he proposed a new alphabet for Kurdish by adding 8 more letters to the existing 32. He wanted the opportunity of these letters to be discussed among the elites. [244]

Another article favouring the Arabic Alphabet was from Suleymaniyeli Mesud, who was complaining about the difficulty of learning the Arabic alphabet because it had many figures for a single letter. He suggested simplifying the alphabet for children to start reading.[245]

The argument in favour of Arabic letters seems to reflect the concern of keeping in touch with Muslim communities and stressing the Kurds' religious identity.

On the contrary, to those who were in favour of using the Arabic Alphabet either by simplifying or by adding new letters, another intellectual of that time, Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, was in favour of

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bikim. Îro Îngiliz, Fransız, Elman, Moskof, îtaliya li ku dicing heman mekteban vedikin, bona bi zimanê xwe te'lîmkirin."]

[243] Modanî X., "Ziman û Nezanîya Kurdan" [Language and the Ignorance of the Kurds] *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, , pp.67/68

[244] M. S. Azizî [Mehmet Salih Bedirkhan], "Harflerimiz ve Okuma Kolaylığı" *Roj-î Kurd, issue*.2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.55/56

[245] Süleymanyeli Mesud, "Harflerimiz ve Okuma Kolaylığı", *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 1, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.pp.29,30

using the Latin alphabet.[246] In one of his articles, he focused on the necessity of the adaptation of another alphabet which would enable a child to learn reading and writing in Kurdish within a month.[247]

Another proposal was made by Mevlanzade Rıfat who stressed that the best alphabet to use for the Kurdish language would be the amendment of the Urartian letters, which he claimed to be ancient letters of Kurds and also Armenians. He claimed that Kurds and Armenians were of a common origin, from Urartian.[248]

Referring to Zinar Silopi, Malmîsanij states that it was Faiz Bey, a post-officer, who first suggested to Hêvî to accept the Latin Alphabet.[249]

The debates surrounding a Kurdish alphabet in which the Kurdish intelligentsia positioned themselves may also be understood as a question of whether they were inspired by either Islam, western modernization, or a belief in an 'ancient origin'.

The envisaged "revival" of Kurdish self-consciousness via the reform in the language is appearent in many articles and in the society's manifesto as well. In its manifesto published in the journal *Hetaw-î Kurd*, the society's argument of envisaging the nation via language is clear, as will be seen from the following lines:

> Every nation has a language, while the nation speaks in that language, it also writes and reads in that language. Kurds used to have an excellent language to write and read in and they had many books written in Kurdish, but afterwards the language had started to be forgotten and started to be used only in the regions outside of the cities. However, a nation with a half language cannot exist. Such a nation will have neither skill, nor development; so it is the society's first duty to develop

[246] Malmîsanij, *Kurt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti,* Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2002, p. 101
[247] Doktor Abdullah Cevdet, "Bir Hitab", *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 1, , in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.pp.16,17
[248] Mevlanzade Rıfat "Muhterem 'Hetaw-i Kurd' Gazetesi Müessislerine" *Hetaw-i Kurd,* no.2, , in Malmîsanij, Kurt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti, (İstanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2002), pp. 250/252
[249] Malmîsanij, *Kurt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti,* Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayın, 2002, p. 102

> the Kurdish language into a language that is suitable for reading and writing, to write books in Kurdish and to spread them all over Kurdistan, so that Kurds will learn science and skills.[250]

In an article in *Hetaw-î Kurd*, signed only as "T" The writer complained that Kurds do not understand each other because of regional differences. Stressing the dialect differences in Kurdish, the writer mentions that Kurds in the regions were excited about the periodicals sent by Hêvî, but soon they saw that they could not understand neither the articles in Turkish nor in Kurdish. Because of this, he proposed a small journal to be published in both dialects in order to create a common language.[251]

The need for the Kurdish Language to have its own writing system appears on the agenda of the Society's second period, which refers to time after WWI as well. Here is a citation from the Society's manifesto of the second period; "The society will urge to promote the Kurdish language into a written language that has the ability of expression." Speaking of the second period of Hêvî, all the discussions carried on during both periods by the intellectuals seems to have given its fruit as a Kurdish textbook titled *Hînkerê Zimanê Kurdî*. [252] This book written to teach Kurdish, consisted of 15 lessons.[253] In the introduction of the book, the aim was expressed as teaching Kurdish in both dialects, Kurmancî and Soranî. The book consists of sentences and statements in both dialects. Thinking of the language politics of the nationalist movement it is worth saying that they did not intent to make one dialect superior to another.

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[250] "Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti'nin Beyannamesidir". (The Manifesto of KTHC), *Hetaw-î Kurd,* issue4-5, in Malmîsanij, *Kürt Talebe- Hêvî Cemiyeti İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği, Istanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2002, pp.257-261*

[251] T., "Kurd Gençlerimizden Bir Temenni" *Hetaw-i Kurd,* issue 1, 24 October 1913, pp. 8-10.

[252] This book was later republished in both Latin and arabic alphabet by BGST yayınları. It was a product of a collective work carried by a group called "Osmanlı Kaynaklarında Kürtler Çalışma Grubu" , "Hînkerê Zimanê Kurdî" Istanbul: bgst yayınları, 2008

[253] From the book that published by bgst it is seen that four lessons are missing.

Another subject discussed by the intellectuals was the revival of Kurdish literature. One remarkable example was the article written by Abdülaziz Baban. In this article, he complains about Kurdish authors who did not care about their nation and regional interests and who only praised the Emirates and Sultans. He continues by stressing that art was for the benefit of society and there was nothing more influential than literature, which diffuses into the souls of the people. Furthermore he called for Kurdish poets and novelists to work for the benefit of their people. [254]

To analyze Hêvî's discourse further, here I shall recall Benedict Anderson statements that emphasize the significance of the press in the historical process of national identity formation. He underlines the connection between the rise of the newspaper, the medium and message of which have contributed to the imagining of social communities along national lines, and the reader who imagines being tied to others by virtue of their awareness that they form a reading community connected to one another through the act of reading in a particular language about events that somehow pertain to them.[255]

Citing Anderson, one may read language as helping to build a national identity together with the act of printing.

In one of his article, Mehmet Salih Bedirxan complaining about the absence of the press among Kurds and being a stranger to the press life, he states that;

> It is the press, which creates public opinion and determines its path. The natural power of a nation, which does not give special importance to print, loses its way and goes to waste.

[254] Baban Abdulaziz, "Edebiyatımız ve Ediplerimizden bir Rica", *Roj-î Kurd*, issue4, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.107/108

[255] Benedcit Anderson, *Hayali Cemiyetler; Minlliyetçiliğn Kökenleri ve Yayılması,* İstanbul: Metis yayınları, 2009, pp, 48-50

> Therefore those nations, who live without being organized, do not escape the danger of dying out. (..)"[256]

Salih Bedirxan was aware of the importance of the role of the press in creating a common identity and that it was an influential tool to evoke a common language and sense of identity for the Kurdish people.

Tracing all the matters discussed in the articles, it is seen that the arousal and improvement of the language, literature and education, and the use of the press were remarkable dimensions in Hêvî's nationalist discourse.

In *Jîn* (1918-1919), the journal published by *Kurdistan Teal-î Cemiyeti/ KTC* (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan), we find more conscious efforts to construct a Kurdish national identity. As I mentioned in the previous parts, KTC marked a new era for the Kurdish National Movement. The Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti's foundation indeed 'signified the true birth of modern Kurdish nationalism. The KTC formation represented the evolution of Kurdish Nationalist tendencies towards a more dynamic nationalism, in which the forces mobilized by the movement grew to be an important factor.

After WWI, Kurdish elites started their attempt to rebuild Kurdish society, they were aware that their political struggles were legitimized through the discourse of the day, which were on the grounds of nationalism and modernity. The elites of that time based their ideas on Wilson's fourteen points especially the twelfth point, which advocated self determination for Ottoman subjects. This point gave a new idea of legitimacy to the nationalist movements of its time. They

[256] Salih Bedirxan "Kılıçdan Evvel Kalem!", *Roj-î Kurd,* issue3 in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp. 76-79
["Kamuoyunu oluşturan ve ona belirli bir istikamet veren basındır. Basına gerekli önemi vermeyen bir milletin kamuoyu (...) heder olur gider. Bundan dolayı bu milletler daima bu gaflet yüzünden örgütsüz yaşamak ve günün birinde kaybolup ortadan kalkmak ve kaldırılımak tehlikesinden kurtulamaz."]

hoped to be supported by the great powers. The demand of independency regarding these principles appeared in many articles written in *Jîn*. Kamiran Alî Bedirxan wrote;

> In Wilson's fourteen points, it is declared that the principle that every nation will govern itself is accepted by the world. It is also mentioned that humanity will not be used as a tool for political targets. This is the offer which suits the missionary of humanity and virtue. [257]

In an article written by Abdurrahim Rahmi, the demand for the governance of Kurdistan is clearer;

> Yes, we Kurds did not see the point of getting out from under the rule of the Turkish Government nor Ottoman's society so far. Now, Wilson says; "We will not give non-Turks to the Ottomans." However we call our land Kurdistan, except for a few people who had become officers, there are no Kurds. What about the Armenians? They make up not more than 5 percent of us. Therefore, the nation comprises mainly Kurdish people. As a result, Kurdistan belongs to Kurds; it is their right, not any others.[258]

According to the news published in the journal, American Research Centre accepted a representative group on behalf of Kurdish Democrats and the group told them about Kurdistan case;

> In the places where Kurds make up the majority, only Kurds' national rights could be mentioned. Kurds have been the majority in those lands for ages and this situation is proved by foreigner's

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[257] Kamran Alî Bedirxan, "Kurdistan İçin", *Jîn*, issue 3, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.245
["Wilson'ın ondört şartında, her milletin kendisi tarafından idare edilmesi esasının artık dünyada kesb-i istikrar edileceği ilan olunuyor. Beşeriyetin sşaysş makasıda artık baziçe olmayacağı beyan ediliyor. Işte, insaniyet ve fazilet mübeşşirliğine yakışan samimi teklif!"]

[258] Adurrahim Rahmi, "Halê me yê Hazır" *Jîn*, issue 6, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.347
["Belê em Kurd, heta nuha me hîs nekir ji ber destê hukumeta Tirkan derkevin, yanî ji menzûma Osmaniyan derkevin. Nuha em temaşe dikin, Wilson dibêjit "cihê Tirk nebî Nadine Osmaniyan" hale ew e ku cihê me dibêjin'ê Kurdistan; xeyrê du sê memûran, ew jî ji ber me'mûriyetê hatine bi cih bûne, bil wana çu Tirk nînin. Wekî Tirk çunînin, ma Ermenî, mixeyn? Hindî Ermenî nemîqdarê sedan pence me nîn in. Mixeyn ji sedan du bi zor teşkîl dikêt. Paş hinge ji xeyrê Kurdan çu millet dî çunînin. Wekî we ye, Kurdistan heqe Kurdan e, ji xeyrê Kurdan heqê kesî tê nine."]

> research as well. Beside this, it is impossible to rejects the Kurds' ethnic and historical rights on these lands. The rights that Kurds are demanding also match Wilson's Principles.[259]

The news went on by saying that the representative group gave the information on this issue.

It seems that Kurdish elites attempted to have a say in how the borders would be drown and to participate in the progress of the determination of their destiny. During this attempt, they had to prove to others that they matched the requirements of the age and the nationality they belonged to was a "modern" one and they had to make other Kurds aware of their identity. In many articles, Kurdish elites were trying to encourage Kurds to take pride in their history, language and literature and Kurds were also invited to reclaim their faith. Siverekli Hilmi who addresses Kurdish youth is one of the examples:

> The time of following others is past .... Work only for your own people. Do not forget that we have a language of our own, however neglected, and a rich history. Here you have a formula for independence: action and initiative. [260]

Kurdish elites of that time had a mission to prove the existence of the nation of which they claimed to be the representatives. In their attempt to do this, it seems that language played a part.

In 1919, the masterpiece of Ehmedê Xanî, Kurdish poet lived in 17th century, Mem û Zîn was published in Istanbul. In the 16th issue of *Jîn*, this publication was commented as a big success to serve Kurdish language and literature. In his article, Memduh Selîm Beg claims that, this book is

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[259] From Daily Papers, *Jîn*, issue 23, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.985
["Kürdlerin çoğunluk olarak bulundukları yerlerde ancak Kürd ulusal hakları söz konusu olabilir. Kürdlerin o dolaylarda yüzyıllardan beri sahip bulundukları ezici çoğunluk bugüne kadar sürmektedir ve bu durum yabancıların incelemeriyle de sabittir. Bundan başka, Kürdlerin oralarda ırksal ve tarihsek haklarının inkarı da olanaksızdır. Kürdlerin bugün istedikleri hak, yanlız kendi istekleriyle değil, Amerikan kamuoyunun ve bu kamuoyunun temsilcisi olan Wilson'ın prensipleriyle de doğrulanıp sağlamlaştırılmış bir haktır."]

[260] Siverekli Hilmi, "Kurd gençlerine", *Jîn*, issue 2, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.401
["Başkalarının metaına rağbet zamanı geçti. Bazılarınızın fikirlerini işgal eden hayalât-ı vâhiyeden teberrî ediniz. Yalnız kendi milletiniz ıçırı çalışınız. Unutmayınız ki bizim de bugüne kadar ihmal edilmiş vasi bir lisanımız zengin bir tarihimiz vardır. İşte size bir düstur-ı felah: Faaliyet ve teşebbüs"]

the proof of the existence of an excellent Kurdish language. Mem û Zîn was published with prologue of Mükslü Hamza. In his prologue, Hamza says that;

> Literature and literary work is a strong ground, for every nation and every people to base itself on. If a nation has literature no matter how badly it has been injured, it can be reborn again.[261]

The writer goes on saying that for every nation that wants to exist and claim its independency, the first thing to do is to give big importance to their literature. He claims that Ehmedê Xanî was aware of this and he put the Kurdish language into an order. He also adds that especially in this age, in this civilized world, a nations' proof of existance is their literature and language. A nation without this proof would never be listened to by others.[262]

The improvement of the Kurdish language was on the agenda of the elites of that time. The chart of *Kürd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî /KTMC* (Society for Kurdish Educational Circular) which was a cultural society known as a sub-society of *Kurdistan Teal-î Cemiyeti*, reflects this concern:

> They say that; for a nation to have its rights, the insurance is to have a history and a language which is convenient to the requirements of the age, that is to say it is important to have national institutions.[263]

On the chart, it was mentioned that the society's mission was to compensate for what they had lost; they aimed to supply the needs of Kurds in terms of language, history and contemporary science. The society has also a mission to make Kurds aware of their glorious past and language;

> The Kurdish language's wideness and the perfection of Kurdish Grammar will lead us to develop the language into an extremely developed one.

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[261] Bozarslan's introduction to *Jîn*, in M.Emîn Bozarslan, *Jîn,* Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.64

[262] Mem û Zîn, Dibace, s.1-2, İstanbul- 1335(1919), in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p. 65

[263]"Kurd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî Beyannamesi", *Jîn*, issue 10, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.467
["Diyorlar ki milletlerin berat-ı hak ve istihkakı, cereyan-ı asra hema bir lisat ve tarihe, bugünkü mânasiyla milli müesseselere malikiyettir."]

On the declared chart the following points were devoted to language;

> 2. All the works in the Kurdish language written by Kurdish writers from Divans to poetry will be printed.
> 3. A Kurdish dictionary containing all the dialects will be compiled and published.
> 4. Among the existed grammar books the appropriate ones will be printed.
> 5. To provide education in Kurdish, books will be published
> 7. Kurdish legends, stories and folk songs will be collected from different regions.264

I deduce from the discourse of the elites of that time, that language was seen as proof of a nation's existence, so it seems that it was important for the elites to prove that a Kurdish language was capable of meeting the needs of the modern age. They also believed that language should be promoted.

On the 14th issue of *Jîn*, Xelîl Xeyalî[265] stresses the need for a common language to understand each other. He also says that the written language should cover the need of scientific progress.[266] He mentions that some people say that the existence of different dialects is a barrier in the fight for the Kurdish language to have a united form. He claims that the diversity of the dialects is not an obstacle; on the contrary it is a gift since it supplies various vocabulary to the language.

On the 15th issue of *Jîn* Xelîl Xeyalî calls for more organized work to improve the Kurdish language; among his suggestions to succeed, there is the one for establishment of a "Language

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[264] "Kurd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî Beyannamesi", *Jîn*, issue 10, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.467
["2- Bilumum Kürd üdeba, şuara, ulemasının Kürd lisanıyle meydana getirdikleri müellefât, divan ve eş'arı doğru ve nefîs bir surette tab ettirecek. 3- Bütün Kürd lehçelerini ihtiva etmek üzre bir Kürdçe lügat kitabı tertib ve neşredecek. 4- Mevcuda göre sarf ve nahv kitablanndan münasıblermı tabettırecek. 5- Kürd lisanıyle tedrisât-ı ibtidaiyeyi temin için lâzım gelen kıtabları neşredecek. 7- Her mahaldeki Kürd âdât ve ananâtına dair malumat cem edecek ve Kürd masal, hikâye ve avam şarkıları toplanacaktır."]
[265] He used a different pen name, for his articles in *Jîn* as "Kurdiyê Bitlîsî", Bozarslan:1985, p.366
[266] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî (Xelîl Xeyalî), "Kurdçeye Dair I", *Jîn*, issue 14, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.606

Committee". [267]He says that this committee should work under KTMC and should aim to undertake the mission of reforming and developing the language. He suggests that the members of the committee should be well educated and know different dialects of Kurdish language. He also mentions that there should be some members who can speak a foreign language, namely a European language. Xeyalî states that the first and the most important mission of the committee is to collect and record the words of the language. He goes on by saying that the work must be based on the dictionary of whichever language and the equivalents of the words in each dialect should be written down. He also recommends that all the proverbs, stories and poems, that is to say elements of oral traditions should be recorded. From many other articles one can conclude that for Kurdish elites it was important to collect oral traditions elements to expand their collection of "written literature". Just like many other intellectuals Xeyalî calls for improving a standard written language and says;

> To regulate the grammar of the language it is very natural to base it on the biggest language family and it is also the easiest way. In our time, this right belonged to the North Kurdish; therefore, I suggest the dialect of Hakkarî and Botan to be preffered.268

He legitimizes his suggestion by stating that his preference for any one dialect is for the sake of the nation and that as such nobody should consider his choice as selfishly motivated. Regarding to politics of dialects, this suggestion of him can be read as the attempt to make Kurmancî superior to other dialects.

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[267] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî (Xelîl Xeyalî), "Kurdçeye Dair", *Jîn*, issue 15, reprinted in M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, pp.663-668
["Başlıca lisan meselesiyle –muayyen bir plan dahilinde – uğraşacak bir heyet-i daimeye ihtiyaç vardır."]
[268] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî (Xelîl Xeyalî), "Kurdçeye Dair", *Jîn*, issue 15, reprinted in M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, pp.663-668
["Lisanın sarf-ü nahvini tanzimde en büyük aile-i lisaniyenin esas ittihaz edilmesi, en kestirme ve tabiî yoldur. Zamanımızda bu hak, Şimal Kürdçesinindir. Binaberîn, bu maksadla Hakkari ve Botan lehçesinin tercihini tavsiye edebilirim. "] (The dialect mentioned is Kurmancî)

From the periodicals published by Kurdish elites during the late Ottoman period, the conclusion that can be drawn is that language was a discursive component of the national identity built or that had been attempted to be built by Kurdish intellectuals. Many of the elites of that time were aware of the role that language plays with respect to the perception of a nation. This is why they began the task of constructing a common language and going through all the processes needed for that language to be the medium of communication in the public sphere. This process as, I mentioned in chapter one, contains a variety of attempts, some of which are the selection of a variety, the adoption of an alphabet, the writing of grammar books and the preparation of dictionaries. Those intellectuals, despite their efforts, did not succeed much in their attempts.

In his edition of *Jîn*, M. Emin Bozarslan, drawing attention to intentions of improving the language, says that the intellectuals could not manage to put their program into practice. With all their calls for improving, standardizing, reforming and modernizing the language, nothing much was done except to publish a grammar book titled *Muqeddîmet'ul-îrfan*.[269]

As it will be seen in the following chapters the periodical *Hawar* would do much more for the revival of the language through a more thoroughly planned language program.

[269] Bozarslan 1985, p.72

PART B: A Case Study on the Kurdish Periodical *Hawar* (1932-1943)

Chapter III: *Hawar*, its publishers and authors

After a long active political struggle, Mîr Celadet Bedirxan, the grandson of Bedirxan Beg, with his comrades, decided to abandon his 'sword' for the 'pen.' He was very well aware of the importance of consolidating the feeling of belonging amongst the Kurdish people and he also knew that to succeed they had to restore the Kurdish Language, develop teaching in Kurdish, and ensure the rebirth of popular literature. In order to put their decision into practice, with the leadership of Celadet Bedirxan, a group of intellectuals started the publication of the journal *Hawar* in Damascus, Syria, which was at that time under the French Mandate Regime. Between 1932 and 1946, Celadet Bedirxan with his brother Kamiran Bedirxan edited two bilingual French-Kurdish revues; *Hawar* (Cry) / 1932-1943, and *Roja Nû* (New Sun/Day / 1943-1946) each of which had a supplement in Kurdish: *Ronahî* (Light/ Illumination)/ 1942-1945 and Stêr (Star)/1943-1946, respectively.

Hawar was first issued on May 15, 1932. The journal continued until its fifty-seventh issue which was released on August 15, 1943. The first twenty-three issues of the journal were published in both the Latin and Arabic alphabets, but from the twenty-forth issue onward, only the Latin alphabet was used.

In order to have a better understanding of the journal and its contributions to the discursive construction of the Kurdish nation, one should have a look on Celadet Bedirxan's life and the process which led him to make the decision of publishing the journal and devoting the rest of his life to improving the Kurdish Language and promoting a strong Kurdish identity.

1. Celadet Bedirxan and the Background of *Hawar*

> "The captive nation that has not lost its language resembles a prisoner who has the key of his prison door..."[270]

The Bedirxan family was one of the most influential families of south-eastern Anatolia, and Celadet Ali Bedirxan (1893-1951) was among the most internationally recognized figures of the Kurdish nationalist movement of the early twentieth.

There is no doubt that the most important member of the Bedirxanî family was Celadet's grandfather Bedirxan Beg (1802-1869), who became the ruler of the Botan Emirate in 1835 and ruled this strong emirate over the following twelve years.

In the previous chapters, I mentioned his revolt against the Ottoman State and the State's centralist policy. After the revolt, Bedirxan was sent to Istanbul, arriving on 12 September 1847, and a year later to Crete with his two brothers and three children, the oldest of whom (Hamit) was eleven in 1848.[271] In Crete, Bedirxan remained for ten years and was influential in arbitrating local disputes between the Christians and Muslims on behalf of the central government. For his service, he was allowed to return to Istanbul in 1858.[272] After seven years in Istanbul, Bedirxan Beg moved to Damascus, Syria, and he died there in 1869. When he died, some of his older children were already working in Istanbul.

Most of Bedirxan's sons were employed by the state during Abdulhamit's reign (1876-1909) and afterward. I already mentioned in the previous chapter that Bedirxan's sons Mikdat Mithad and Abdurrahman, published a Kurdish-Turkish newspaper, *Kurdistan* in Cairo, Geneva and, later in

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[270] *Hawar* issue 3, 1932, ["Millete dîl ko zimanê xwe winda nekiriye, wek girtiyek e ko mifta zindana xwe bi xwe re hilaniye"]
[271] Malmîsanij, *Cizira Botanlı Bedirhaniler,* Istanbul: Avesta Publishing, 2009, p.67,71
[272] Malmîsanij, *Cizira Botanlı Bedirhaniler*, Istanbul: Avesta Publishing, 2009, p.67,71

England.

Many children of Bedirxan Beg played active roles in the development of Kurdish nationalism through the Kurdish cultural organizations mentioned earlier, which provided the future Kurdish nationalists with an organizational structure.

In the wake of World War I, when Kurdish nationalism emerged as a political movement, Emin Ali Bedirxan (1891-1926), one of the elder children of Bedirxan, and his children became ardent advocates of Kurdish independence. Emin Ali Bedirxan was one of the most devoted and well-known exponents of Kurdish nationalism. He was a founding member of *Kürdistan Tealî Cemiyetî* / KTC (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan) whose agenda was mentioned in the previous chapter. He then as mentioned previously left KTC and formed another organization, which promoted complete independence; the *Kürt Teskilat-i Içtimaiye Cemiyeti* /KTIC (Society for the Kurdish Social Organization), in 1920.[273]

Malmîsanij, relying on Blêç Şêrko, mentions the claim that both Celadet and Kamiran Bedirxan were the founders of KTIC.[274] It was probably before the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 that Emin Ali left Turkey for Egypt, where he died in 1926. After Emin Ali's death, his children, particularly, Surreya, Celadet, and Kamiran became very prominent spokes-people for Kurdish nationalism. Surreya spent most of his time in Syria and Cairo after World War I, published newspapers, and became heavily involved in Kurdish nationalist activities.[275]

Celadet Ali and Kamiran Bedirxan, the other two sons of Emin Ali, had been involved in KTC

[273] Hakan Özoğlu, "Nationalism" and Kurdish Notables in the Late Ottoman–Early Republican EraAuthor(s)": Source: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409Published by: Cambridge University Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/259457 .Accessed: 22/08/2011 08:36

[274] Malmîsanij, Mahmûd Lewendî, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê Rojnamegeriya Kurdî*, Ankara: Özge Yayınları, 1992, p.75

[275] Kamuran Ali Bedr Khan, W. G. Elphinston & C. Persson, "The Emir Jeladet Ali Bedr Khan The Passing Of A Kurdish Prince (1952): In *Memoriam, Journal Of The Royal Central Asian Society*, 39:1, 91-96 This Article Was Downloaded on: 26 January 2012, At: 03:03 Publisher: Routledge

activities with their father.[276] They were both educated in Europe. Celadet, Emin Ali's second-oldest son, spent most of his life in France, Germany, and Syria. He held a master's degree in law from Istanbul University and completed his studies in Munich.[277] Celadet served as an officer in the Ottoman Army during World War I. He served in the Ottoman army as an officer and, like other Kurdish nationalists, Celadet turned against Turkey after the war. In the following period, Celadet became an ardent anti-Kemalist, for he believed that the new Turkish regime would not allow an independent Kurdistan while founding an independent Turkish nation-state itself.[278]

It is mentioned by many researchers that Celadet and his younger brother Kamiran accompanied Major Noel, a British intelligence officer whose main assignment was to assess the possibility of the creation of Kurdistan, in his travels in Kurdistan during 1919.[279] Celadet also tells about this experience with him on *Hawar*'s pages.[280] They were on a tour of Mardin, Diyarbakir and Malatya, in order to find out the feelings of local Kurds towards Kurdish independence. Major Noel was as pro-Kurdish as he was anti-Kemalist. This tour was cut short by the intervention of Mustafa Kemal, who was then gaining control of eastern Turkey.[281] Aware of the Bedirxanîs' activities, Mustafa Kemal, in his famous Speech, (*Nutuk*) in 1927, directly accuses Celadet and his brother Kamiran of opposing the Kemalist movement in Anatolia.[282]

Later, when Celadet wrote about the Latinization of the Kurdish alphabet in *Hawar*, he would recall those days with Major Noel and state that it was during those days that he decided to

[276] Özoğlu (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409
[277] Özoğlu (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409
[278] Özoğlu (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409
[279] Özoğlu (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409, Elphinston 1952
[280] "Pêşgotingek", *Hawar* issue 13, pp. 1-3
[281] Elphinston 1952
[282] See Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, vol. 3, section "vesikalar," 57-64. (Özoğlu 2001)

Latinize the Kurdish Alphabet.[283]

Celadet Bedirxan was compelled to leave Turkey as an exile (September 1922) and he lived for a while in France and Germany (1922-1925). As no money came to him from Turkey, he had to work for his living, and Celadet worked as a gardener, a waiter, a house-painter, and a type-setter in a publishing house. The knowledge he gained at the latter occupation would help him to print and publish *Hawar*, when years later he lived in Damascus.[284] Celadet stayed in Germany for over two and a half years, most of them he spent impoverished and he left behind a diary (written in Turkish) of short entries describing his experiences. Long unknown, this work was discovered only in the early 1990s and transcribed and published in 1995. This diary of exile was named as *Günlük Notlar* (*Daily Notes*).[285]

Reading through his diary, one gets the idea that, Celadet during his time in Munich, studies German tirelessly (he once received a free lesson in return for a lesson in Kurdish), takes violin lessons, attends various courses at university, goes to classical concerts as often as possible and travels the countryside. He also attends church with his landlord on Easter.[286]

Celadet leaves Germany for Egypt in 1925. He meets his brother Surreya in Cairo on the 25th of May in 1925.[287] Not much is known about Celadet's time in Egypt yet two years after his arrival there, in 1927, Celadet Ali Bedirxan abandoned Egypt for Syria, where he soon became the first elected president of the nationalist organization *Xoybun* that was centred in Damascus.[288]

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[283] "Peşgotingek", *Hawar*, issue 13, p.1
[284] Elphinston 1952
[285] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, *Günlük Notlar (1922-1925),* edited by Malmîsanij, Stockholm:1995, Isatnbul: Avesta yy, 1997
[286] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, *Günlük Notlar (1922-1925),* edited by Malmîsanij, Stockholm:1995, Isatnbul: Avesta yy, 1997
[287] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, *Günlük Notlar (1922-1925),* edited by Malmîsanij, Stockholm:1995, Isatnbul: Avesta yy, 1997, p.65
[288] Özoğlu (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409

When Celadet Ali Bedirxan arrived there, Syria was under the French Mandate Regime. Just like him, many other Kurdish nationalist intellectuals formerly based in Istanbul arrived in Syria at the same time. Before their arrival, patrilineal relationship, local, religious, and tribal ties determined the social practices and the mobilizations of the Kurdish populations of Northern Syria.[289] There in Syria, Kurdish nationalist sentiment emerged in connection with regional events. After the crushing of the Sheikh Seîd (1925) revolt in Turkish Kurdistan, the Ankara government envisaged the deportation of Kurdish tribes toward the west of the country as a means of clearing the Kurdish provinces of its most dangerous elements. At the same time, members of Istanbul's Kurdish societies that escaped the brutal death penalty or imprisonment were forced into exile due to repression by the new Turkish regime. While some of them found refuge in Iraq, others looked to France for protection in the Levant.

With the arrival of those nationalist Kurdish intellectuals, the idea of "a national Kurdish group" took on a certain reality among a small minority of the Kurdish population in Syria.[290]

The French had occupied the region in 1920. Before that, a short-lived Arab government was established in Syria between 1918 and 1920. This government's ruler, King Faysal and his supporters regarded Kurds in Damascus with great suspicion because of their close links with the previous Ottoman administration, which is why the local Kurdish communities generally welcomed French rule.[291] Soon after the formation of the Syrian State under the French Mandate, Kurds demanded self-rule within the borders of the country. A petition addressed to the

[289] For further information about the social construction of Kurds in the region; Jordi Tejel, *Syria's Kurds, History, Politics and Society*, London: Rouledge, 2009,
[290] Tejel, 2009, p.17
[291] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.197

constituent assembly of Syria on June 23, 1928 included the following demands:[292]

> 1. The use of the Kurdish language, in the Kurdish regions, concurrently with other official languages,
> 2. Education in the Kurdish language in these regions,
> 3. Replacing government employees of these regions with Kurds.

Self rule in this part of Syria was not welcomed by the Mandate authorities. Apparently the reason for that was the intolerance of Turkish and Iraqi States for an "autonomous Kurdish territory".[293] Hassanpour states that, at that time the use of the Kurdish language was free, without being official, in the region.[294]

According to Ismet Şerif Vanlı, the French and Syrian authorities tolerated private cultural activities among the Kurds but no state-funded Kurdish school was established in the country.

The French discouraged any political or military action against Turkey among the Kurds in Syria especially those who had immigrated to the country from Turkish Kurdistan.[295]

Under these conditions a Kurdish pro-independence organization, named *Xoybûn* (Independence/ Being Oneself) was constituted in 1927. The appearance of organized Kurdish nationalist propaganda in Syria after the WWI came into life around this organization. Its central society was based in Beirut, with branches in Damascus, Aleppo, as well as in Turkey (in the provinces of Mardin, Diyarbakır, Siirt and Sîlvan) Iraq, Paris, London and Detroit.[296]

Xoybûn's leadership included a number of Kurdish nationalists from Turkey who settled in Syria

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[292] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil*, Istanbul:Avesta yy, 1997, p.237
[293] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil*, Istanbul:Avesta yy, 1997, p.237
[294] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil*, Istanbul:Avesta yy, 1997, p.237
[295] Ismet Şerif Vanlı, "The Kurds in Syria and Lebanon" in *The Kurds; A Contemporary Overview*, edited by Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, London: In type London ltd, 1992, p.149
[296] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.197

after 1925 following the Sheik Seîd rebellion. Kurdish nationalists with different backgrounds gathered under this organization and two Bedirxanî brothers Celadet and Kamiran were among these activists.[297]

As Rohat Alakom reports, Ahmed Abdurrahman Ağa who was in the first meeting for the foundation of Xoybûn, says, in his memories published in 1989, that the founder group consisted of Celadet Bedirxan, Memduh Selim, Mehmed Şükrü Sekban, Haco Ağa, Ramanlı Emin, Ali Rıza, Mustafa Şahin, Bozan Şahin, Kerim Bey, Tefik Bey, Kamil Bey, Bedreddin Ağa, Liceli Fehmi.[298] The society chose Celadet Bedirxan as the leader.[299]

The establishment of Xoybûn marked a new stage in the development of Kurdish nationalism. In the founding congress, they asserted that their aim was to found an independent united Kurdistan in its natural boundary.[300] They were also determined to continue struggling until the last Turkish soldier was out of the Kurdistan territory. Xoybûn consisted of two branches; one was military, led by veteran Kurdish officers including Ihsan Nurî (Pasha), a former commander in the Ottoman Army, and the political branch, led by Celadet Bedirxan and other Kurdish intellectuals. The society was a union of a westernized intelligentsia and representatives of the traditional Kurdish world.[301] "Some intellectuals, ex-officers, aghas, sheiks and tribal leaders came together within the Xoybûn to work out a new, common, nationalist syntax in order to oppose the Kemalist regime."[302]

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[297] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.197
[298] Rohat Alakom, *Xoybûn Örgütü ve Ağrı Ayaklanması*, İstanbul: Avesta, 2011, p.36
[299] Rohat Alakom, *Xoybûn Örgütü ve Ağrı Ayaklanması*, İstanbul: Avesta, 2011, p.36
[300] Hamit Bozarslan, "Kürt Milliyetçiliği ve Kürt Hareketi (1898-2000)" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, Volume 4: Milliyetçilik, Istanbul: İletişim, 2003, p.849
[301] Tejel, 2009, p.17
[302] Tejel, 2009, p.17

The society actively supported the Kurdish revolts in Turkey in 1930s.[303] It was widely accepted that Xoybûn was primarily conceived as the political and propaganda bureau of military organization, based around Mount Ararat in North Kurdistan.[304]

The society was also functioning as the General Command of the Kurdish Forces in charge of training contingents of tribesmen coming from different Kurdish regions for guerrilla warfare. The aim of the head-team was to awake an uprising against the Turkish government under the leadership of general Ihsan Nurî Paşa. With its various branches the society drew its strategy of mobilizing the Kurdish tribes for the so-called Ararat Revolt. Soon after the establishment of Xoybûn, Ihsan Nurî Paşa started to carry out military operations against the Turkish government, and declared the foundation of the 'Kurdish Republic of Ararat' in 1928.[305]

Stimulated by Xoybûn, local chiefs joined the revolt, the Kurdish flag was raised, and an independent Kurdish government was formed, under the presidency of Ibrahim Paşa Haski Tello.[306]

The Turkish government's first reaction was to seek for reconciliation. They had a series of attempts like halting the programme of deportations and allowing deportees to return home. An amnesty was offered to all oppositional Kurds willing to submit to the Kemalist government, and Kurdish nationalists were freed from prison.[307] Kurdish activists' response to these offers was rejection by saying that it was a way of diverting Kurds. On June 11, 1930, armed Turkish

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[303] Hakan Özoğlu, "Nationalism and Kurdish Notables in the Late Ottoman–Early Republican Era" Author(s): Source: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 2001), pp. 383-409Published by: Cambridge University Press Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/259457 .Accessed: 22/08/2011 08:36

[304] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.198

[305] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.199

[306] Paul White, *Primitive Rebels or Revolutuonary Modernizers?* Newyork: Zed Books, 2000, p. 76/77

[307] Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi / Kökenleri ve Gelişimi*, Istanbul: İletişim yy, 2008, p.420

soldiers attacked the Kurdish troops. Kurds were gradually crushed by the superior numbers of the Turkish military.[308] The suppression of the revolt was accompanied and followed by drastic punitive measures, which are said to have included deportations, mass arrests and summary executions.[309]

Xoybûn was the architecture of the Ararat Revolt during which the society attempted to awake a national sensation. The society, called "for the disembarrassment of the precious Kurdistan from the cruel ones[310]; (...) Our brothers, let's die and kill with our honour. It is the only way for our Kurdishness and homeland to survive."[311]

The failure of the Kurdish armed movement in Mount Ararat, which had dominated the efforts of the Kurdish nationalists in Syria up until 1932, had important consequences for the development of Kurdish nationalism and national identity in Syria.

> Kurdish revolutionists, who witnessed the suppression of two revolts within six years, were determined to continue their struggle for Kurdistan's independency. However, this time they grabbed their pens.[312]

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[308] Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi / Kökenleri ve Gelişimi*, Istanbul: İletişim yy, 2008, p.420
[309] Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi / Kökenleri ve Gelişimi*, Istanbul: İletişim yy, 2008, p.423
[310] Hamit Bozarslan, "Kürt Milliyetçiliğive Kürt Hareketi (1898-2000)" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, volume 4: Milliyetçilik, Istanbul: İletişim, 2003, p.849
[311] Hamit Bozarslan, "Kürt Milliyetçiliği ve Kürt Hareketi (1898-2000)" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, Volume 4: Milliyetçilik, Istanbul: İletişim, 2003, p.849
[312] Husên Hebeş, *Raperîna Çanda Kurdî di Kovara Hawarê de*, Hogir publishing, Bonn, published on the internet in 2007
http://www.habasch.de/kurdisch/pirtuk/data/DrHHebesh-*Hawar*.pdf (last access in 02/02/12)

2. An overview on the story and content of *Hawar*

The failure of the Ararat Revolt in 1930 set the stage for the reformation of Kurdish military strategy. The urgency of the moment and the limited number of members of Xoybûn society made the intellectuals have to choose between fighting with the 'sword' and 'pen' tending more towards the latter.[313] The Kurdish intellectuals saw that in order to lead all the Kurds or at least most of them into struggle and unite around a common identity and a holy goal they needed to use their pens which they believed would help them in building a national consciousness. Many of them chose to abandon military solutions in favour of cultural activities and political propaganda, or at least, no other solution was left to them at that time. One cannot claim that those determined intellectuals had left their sword forever, neither they abandoned their belief in the sword anymore. One thing for sure is that the leading intellectual cadre of the revolt became aware that they did not have widespread mass support and they must have inferred that a national consciousness, which would help mobilizing Kurdish people, did not exist yet.

As a result, Kurdish identity in Syria started to be increasingly defined by a Kurdish cultural revival, promoted by Celadet Bedirxan.[314] Celadet and his co-workers believed that reinforcing feelings of belonging to the Kurdish community by cultivating the language, managing education in the Kurdish language, and promoting popular Kurdish literature would accelerate the process.

This returning point to intellectual activities calls to mind 'the phases of nationalist movements'

[313] Tejel, 2009, p.21

[314] Nelida Fuccaro, "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism ain Mandatory Syria: Politics, Culture and Identity" in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.206

theorized by Miroslav Hroch.[315] After the failure of the Ararat Revolt, which in this period refers to the phase C, intellectuals return to phase A which was defined as a period of interest in intellectual activities by Hroch. Of course, the Kurdish intellectuals hoped that this period of Phase A, would follow by phase B, a national agitation, and hopefully ending once more with the final phase of military revolt. Recalling phase A, nation building starts by laying a basis for the subsequent formation of a 'national identity' which is also the period of the collection of information about the history, language and customs of the non-dominant ethnic group which became the critical ingredient in the first phase of patriotic agitation. The attempts of the Kurdish intellectuals during the late Ottoman period, when they discussed the necessity of the promotion of language, displayed historical background of Kurds and frequently called for the unity of the nation, show the characteristics of this phase. According to Hroch those intellectuals' activities cannot be called an organized social or political movement yet until most of the patriots articulated 'national' demands. As I previously discussed from the beginning of the Kurdish press especially after WWI, Kurdish intellectuals sought for the future of their nation through patriotic agitation to 'awaken' national consciousness among Kurds. This period would refer to phase B in terms of Hroch's definition of national movement period. Hroch states that "once the major part of the population comes to set special store by their national identity, a mass movement is formed, which I have termed Phase C". A full social structure can come into being during this final state. It is a given that these phases are not always linear in progress and that there can sometimes be a going backwards and forwards as it is seen throughout the Kurdish National Movement progress mentioned so far.

[315] Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe", *New Left Review I* /198, London, March-April 1993

Celadet Bedirxan, gathering some of the members of *Xoybûn* around the idea of publishing a journal to promote the Kurdish language and culture, started to publish *Hawar* in May 1932. From then on, they would seek for a future nation by patriotic agitation to 'awaken' national consciousness among Kurds. His aim was the promotion of a Kurdish renaissance, which had come to a standstill.

The production of teaching materials in Kurdish and the modernization of the Kurdish language by introducing a system of transliteration in the Latin script were also on the agenda. Furthermore, it provided a forum for the discussion of a number of topics, which ranged from Kurdish linguistics, grammar and dialects to social and cultural issues.

The intellectuals who wrote for Kurdish periodicals, *Roj-î Kurd* (1913) and *Jîn* (1913-1914), had a similar agenda of work. As previously mentioned they also intended to revive and modernize the language. However they could not succeed in the systematization of the Kurdish language and they did not leave a big heritage for their trackers. The following chapter will investigate whether Celadet succeeded in developing a writing system for the Kurdish language.

Celadet's knowledge of many languages provided him with an understanding of linguistics as he says;

> As a Kurd and Kurmancî speaker, I know my language very well, I have compared it with seven-eight other languages and with a detailed survey, I have worked out its grammatical rules (...)[316]

As İbrahim Seydo Aydoğan reports, Celadet had the knowledge of Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Russian, French, English, German, Greek and Persian languages.[317]

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[316] *Hawar*, issue1, 1932, ["Ez qo qurd û qurdmac ziman im û zimanê xwe rind dizanim min ew bi heft heşt zmanên din danîye ber hev, qitqitên wi hûrhûnandine ; qeydeyên wî ji hev derêxistine."]

[317] Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan, *Celadet Bedirxan, Çavkaniyên Hawarê û Kurdayetiya Nû*, in Kurdish journal *ZEND*, Istanbul: Zend publishing, Summer 2009

Celadet promoted Latin-based script for the Kurdish language (North-Kurdish dialect), and this is still used among the North-Kurdish speakers. He believed that, the adoption of the Latin-based Kurdish alphabet was urgent;

> (...) we started to publish 'Hawar' and we introduced our own alphabet to both Kurds and others. We now have an achievement at hand, an alphabet and a magazine. For me the most appropriate thing for the time being would be to do our best in order to advance this alphabet until such a day that circumstances leave us no choice but to modify it. Having said that I must reiterate, that we are always eager to achieve unity and the aim of our endeavour is exactly that. We are advancing with steadfastly steps towards our aim and we will not stop. As our initiative has already been delayed, we can no longer afford to wait any longer.318

Celadet then concentrated on the development of Kurdish culture, and in *Hawar* and *Ronahî*, he strove for a cultural unity among Kurds by reminding them of their old traditions and their folklore.

Celadet believed that the Kurdish language could play a major role in unifying the Kurds and their struggles for the right to self-determination. As he replied to a reader on the issue of the great Kurdish homeland:

> As I have noted before, the Kurdish nation will converge via a unified Kurdish language. The prerequisite of a unified Kurdish language is a unified Kurdish alphabet. This means that the Kurdish scholars and the literati need to develop a writing system that allows all speakers hailing from every Kurdish dialect to use that writing system.[319]

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[318] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, "Li ser Yekîtiya Ziman", *Hawar* issue 10, in Arabic script part, pp.6-8
["ji lew re me dest bi derxistina Hawarê kir û alfabeya xwe ji Kurd û biyaniya re daznin. Îro di meydanê de tiştekî çêkirî heye. Kovarek û alfabeyek . Tek dilê min ji bona îro ya çêtir û rastir ev e ku em hêla xwe bidin û vê alfabeyê heta hengî ku muhceta 'edilandinê bikvêt pêşiyê û rê l ime bigrit pêşve bibin.
Digel vê hindê divêt ez careke di jî bêjim ku em hergav mildarî yekîtiyê ne û armanca xebata me yekîtî ye. Em bigavên bi vîn û hişek berb armanca xwe ve diçin û nasekinin. Ji berk u destpêkirina me ji xwe bi derengî ketiye. Em nema dikarin di hêviyê de bisekinin. "]

[319] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, "Li ser Yekîtiya Ziman", *Hawar* issue 10, in Arabic script part, pp.6-8
["Her wekî me çend caran gotiye yekîtiya milletê Kurd bi yekîtiya zimanê Kurdî tête pê. Di yekîtiya zimên de gava pêşîn jî yekîtiya herfan e. Yanê ji bona nivisandina zimanê miletekî divêt ji nav xwendewarên wî miletê bi tevayî ji

As it will be discussed in the following parts, the examples of his belief in the role of language as a tool for the unification of Kurdistan are countless, starting from the very beginning as he manifests the aim of the journal on the first issue;

> Language is the main condition for existence; therefore Hawar will first of all present our language's existence. Then we will deal with all things related to Kurdishness; except politics. We will leave politics to those nations who have their own states. We will deal with science and arts.[320]

This statement, which declares the aims of the journal, is followed by the agenda of work;

> Spreading the Kurdish alphabet among Kurds and teaching it, the systematization of Kurdish Grammar, spreading grammatical rules via the journal and then publishing them in a book,
> Unifying Kurdish dialects, researching the base, history and improvement of Kurdish language,
> Collecting stories, epics and songs in Kurdish and spreading them,
> Classifying the masterpieces of Kurdish literature,
> Researches on Kurdish dance and songs,
> Researches on the rules of the Kurdish language,
> Researches on the history and geography of Kurdistan [321]

Setting this agenda forth Celadet Bedirxan started his attempt to spread a Latin based alphabet. In *Hawar*'s issues of 1-12, 17-18, 23, he writes a detailed manifestation on the need for a 'new'

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bona zimanê xwe alfabeyek bijbêrin û heke di vî zimanê de çend zar hene, zar hemî bi wî alfabeyê bêne nivisandin."]

[320] "Armanca Awayê Xebatê û Nivîsandina Hawarê", *Hawar* issue 1, pp 1-2
["Hawara me berî her tiştî heyîna zimanê me dê bide nas qirin. Lewma qo ziman şertê heyinê ê pêşîn e, Hawar jû pêve bi her tişti qo qurdanî u qurdîtî pê bendewar e, dê mijûl bibe. Tınê siyaset jê dur e, xwe naêxe siyasetê . Hawarê sîyaset ji civatên welatî re hiştiye."]

[321] "Armanca Awayê Xebatê û Nivîsandina Hawarê", *Hawar* issue 1, pp 1-2
["1-Belavqirina Elfabêya qurdi di nav qurdan û hînqirina wê. Senifandina zimanazîna qurdî û hîn bi hîn di qomelê de belav qirin û pêşdetir di şiqlê kitêbê de derêxistin . 2- Sehîtiya zarên qurdi li berhevdanîna wan. Sehiti ser mirovatiya zmamê qurdi digel zmanên din ên arî . Sehîti ser bingehên zmanê qurdi, ser diroq û awayê rabûn û pêsveqetina wî 3-Ber hevqirina çiroq, çirçiroq û her texlit laje li stranén qurdî û birêve belavqirina wan . 4- Senifadin û belavqirina diwanên qurdi . Bi van ve jinenigariyên şair û mirovên bijarte jî dê bên belav qirin . 5 -Sehîti ser reks û Keydeyên stranên qurdi 6- Sehîti ser her texlit rêziqên qurdi û Qurdistanê, yên zmanê borî û yen îrû û senifadina wan. Sehîtî ser hatinên Kurdistanê û pîşe û sinhetên qurdi. 7-Diroq û erdnigari: Sehîti ser tevayiya diroq û erdnigariya welatê Qurdistanê û ser dîroqa eşîran, berî, paşî û di wextê Mîr-Şeref de."]

alphabet which ‘only belongs to the Kurdish nation’, as well as why he had come to prefer Latin-script over Arabic-script and the details of sounds appearing in the Kurdish language (phonetics) and the letters respectively (morphology). The latinization process of the Kurdish Alphabet will be displayed in the following chapter.

Hawar wasn’t published perpetually. It was first published on the 15th of May in 1932 and fifty-seven issues were published upon the last issue which appeared on the 15th of August in 1943.

At first, the journal issued twice a month but after a while, the time between two issues expanded. In 1932, fourteen issues were published. In 1933, the number of published issues decreased to nine. The twenty-forth issue came out after an eight-month break on April 1, 1934. In 1934, two issues came out and in 1935 only the twenty-sixth issue was published then it had a bigger gap. The twenty-seventh issue appeared on April 15, 1941. In 1941, eleven issues appeared, then in 1942, fourteen issues and in 1943, the last six issues came out.

The first twenty-three issues were published in both Latin and Arabic script. Some articles were written in both scripts and some were just in either of them. The main language was Kurdish in both parts and from the very beginning, there were also some articles in French. Some of these articles were either the translation of the Kurdish ones or the adaptation of them, namely the contents were similar and some of them were written originally in French. Giving an example; on the first issue the aims of the journal are given in the French part which are given in the Kurdish part as well;

> We have founded this journal, Hawar, for exclusively scientific and literary purposes.
> It will aim to fill a great gap that exists in the Kurdish nation.
> It will not in any case be involved with politics.
> It will address only scientific subjects that interest not only Kurds, but also foreigners who wish to

become more familiar with oriental languages and nations.[322]

After this passage, specific aims of the journal are listed; declaring that the journal would be a cultural and scientific project, rather than a political one. The same declaration appears in the Kurdish part as well. Celadet Bedirxan publishes the basis for Kurdish Grammar in French from issue sixteen and afterward in the issues seventeen, eighteen, twenty-five and twenty-six.

In the French Part, there was the translation of some pieces of Kurdish folklore; songs and stories, for example;

Traduction, O, village de trois maisons (Translation, The village of three house)[323]

There were also some articles in French on Kurd's life, for instance;

Le Mariage Chez Les Kurdes (Marriage Among Kurds)[324]

It is also known that these articles in French were mostly written by Celadet Bedirxan either with his actual name or some other pen-name like Herekol Azîzan or Tawûsparêz. There were also signatures of Kamiran Bedirxan and Roger Lescot under the articles written in French.

One may wonder why they wrote in French and possibly conclude that it was to draw western readers' attention to the Kurdish nation and legitimize its nationhood in their eyes.

In the first and the twentieth issues there is one article written in Arabic. The one in the first issue is about the agenda and aims of work. In the first issue there is also an article written in Turkish

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[322] Hawar, issue 1, p.7;
Nous avons fondê notre revue, Hawar, dans un but exclusivement scientifique et littêraire.
Elle voudra donc combler une grosse lacune existant dans la nation Kurde.
Elle ne s'occupera en aucun cas de la politique.
Elle ne traitera que des sujets scientifiques qui non seulement interesseront les Kurdes mais aussi les etraugers desireux demieux connaitre les langues etnations orientales. Translated by Anna Wood in her Senior Thesis Self-Composed: The Narration of Nationality and Identity among Anatolian Kurds, 1908-1938, Department of History, Columbia University, Spring 2010,

[323] *Hawar*, issue 7, pp.7,8 (Translated by Sibil Çekmen)

[324] *Hawar*, issue 52, pp.12-16(Translated by Sibil Çekmen)

and Arabic script. The article is about the Kurdish alphabet.

The dominant Kurdish dialect in the periodical is Kurmancî, followed by Soranî. Especially in the first period there are many articles in the Soranî dialect most of which are written by Hevindê Sorî. The articles in Soranî can be seen up until the 18th issue more often and then they get rare. On the 24th issue, Celadet calls upon the youth living in South Kurdistan to write for *Hawar*. He says up until the 16th issue the periodical had come out in two dialects and then Sorans became less and less prominent. He says they should write for the unity of the Kurdish language and for future generations and he calls for them to join the struggle. Even after this call, not many signs of Soranî appeared on the pages of *Hawar*.

There is one on the 24th issue with the title of 'Mijde bo Lawanî Kurd'[325] (Glad News For Kurdish Boys), written by Lawinî Pijderî.[326] The article says that after a break *Hawar* has again come out. In addition, in the same issue there is another article titled as "Bo Lawanî Kurd Le Iraq" (For Kurdish Boys in Iraq)[327]

Hawar came out mostly as 16 pages up to the 38th issue. The rest varied from 8 to 16 pages. The first 23 issues were published by Çapxana Terekî (Terekî Publishing House). Then on the 24th issue there appears another name, Çapxana Mihdik-El-Mibkî (Mihdik-El-Mibkî Publishing House) The 25thand 26th issues came out from Terekî, then from the 27th issue up to the fifty-second issue another name appears; Çapxana Sebatê (Sebat PublishingHouse). The rest came out from Çapxana Tereqiyê.

[325] Lawinî Pijderî, 'Mijde bo Lawanî Kurd' *Hawar*, issue 24, p.8
[326] İbrahîm Seydo claims that it is written by Celadet Bedirxan with the pen-name 'Lawinî Pijderî', however this is not for sure. (Seydo 2009)
[327]Hawar, "Bo Lawanî Kurd Le Iraq"*Hawar* issue 24, p.9

According to Husên Hebeş[328] the original format of the periodical was 21x29 cm. On the first issue's cover there says *HAWAR* in capital letters. On the left side of it; "SAL 1" (YEAR 1) and "YEQŞEMB" (SUNDAY) appear and on the right "HEJMAR 1" (ISSUE 1), "15 Gulan 1932" (May 15 1932). Under it there says Qomele Qurdî * Revue Kurde".[329] In the middle of the page there appears the content with the titles and the writers. On the bottom of the page, there says "Terekî Publishing House 1932- Damascus." The same format is kept for almost all of the issues.

The word '*Hawar*' means 'call', 'cry' or 'cry for help'. When you use say '*Hawar*' it means there is danger or a big sorrow or you are complaining about the situation. By choosing this name Bedirxan's may have wanted to draw attention to the situation in which Kurds were, since it is obvious from his writings that he believed the Kurds' existence was in danger and they were passing through a big sorrow. He might have also wished to call out to Kurds to mobilize and also help him with his work.

Regarding the writers of the periodical….

At the very beginning for the first issue, Celadet had only his brother Kamiran and well-known poet Qedrîcan's cooperation. Qedrîcan was studying at a teacher-training school when he felt compelled to move to Syria after the suppression of the Ararat Revolt.[330] He contributed to *Hawar* as both a prose writer and a poet. His poems were about the love for his homeland, the bad situation in which the Kurds are and he often called on his people to rise up;

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[328] Husên Hebeş, *Raperîna Çanda Kurdî di Kovara Hawarê de*, Bonn: Hogir publishing,1996, published on the internet in 2007, p.30
http://www.habasch.de/kurdisch/pirtuk/data/DrHHebesh-*Hawar*.pdf (last access in 02/02/12)

[329] From the 5th issue afterward, the word 'komele' replaced with the word 'kovar'. Komele then started to be used for institution or foundation and the word 'kovar' is used for periodicals or journal. in the contemporary Kurdish; the word 'komele' is used for institution or foundation and the word 'kovar' is used for periodicals or journal.

[330] Mehmed Uzun, *Antlojiya Kurdî*, Istanbul: Aram publishing, 2003, p.278

Red-eye people came, they were called the Rom
They banned our lovely language
They made us speak their language
From then, it was a big challenge to speak Kurmancî
They did not care about the rights and prison, and bayonet, and jail
We could not go on like that, some of us dared to rise up against the enemy
However, fate did not let us succeed, we were weak.[331]

Themes such as; homesickness, nostalgia, patriotism, nationalism, the condemning of the persecution of the Kurds and encouraging humans to struggle were dominant in his poems;

Our brothers are being killed
They are being washed with their blood
Our sisters have sent us their hair
Asking us 'why we are just sitting'(...)[332]

He also wrote many valuable stories, which are believed to have played a great role in establishing the basis for modern Kurdish storytelling. Two of them captured my attention since they resembled each other in a thematic sense and both were written in the form of memories. One of them was published with the title, 'Sond' (Oath) and it was about the writer's childhood and his sworn brother who died in order to save him. The story was written in first singular. At the end, the writer says he always remembers the abnegation and heroism of his friend. A very deep nostalgia and sorrow is sensed from his last paragraph;

Every summer morning, I get up early and watch the cloudy mornings. Like everybody, my childhood occurs in my mind. I think of my green country where I was born and unintentionally

[331] Qedrîcan, "Di Şorezarekê de", *Hawar* issue 10, p.4Mirovên çavsor hatin, jê re digotin rom e
["Zmanê me î delal(yasaq)krin bizorî/Zmanê xwe î dixwar bo me kirin mecbûrî/Êdin curmek mezin bû, bi Kurdmancî xeberdan/Guhnedanî heqê kê û heps û sungî û zîndan//Êdin wisan nedibû, me cendekan xwe kar kir/Li hemberî dijminan me hespê xwe pir xar kir/Lê.. felekê bi me re nebir serî em qels man"]
[332]"Xewna Hişyariyê", *Hawar* issue 13, in Arabic Script part p.2
["Biraên me tên kuştin. / Bi xweynên xwe tête şûştin. /Xwehan porên xwe meşandine. / Yanê " Çima hûn rûniştin"]

> my eyes get filled with tears. (...) Then my lond forgotten friend's heroic ghost comes to my mind, that friend of my mine who sacrificed himself for his oath and for his friend.[333]

Similarly, another story of him, gives the sense of nostalgia and sorrow as well. This one again is told like a childhood memory and is also written in the first singular form;

The writer goes to a cave with his three friends. The cave is believed to be haunted. The writer wants to make a fool out of one of his friends and he scares him by shouting loudly. His friend gets shocked and does not get better. They then find a ghost buster to save the child and the ghost buster says he will let the ghost who is posessing him out by hitting the child on the foot, but the child dies because of his hitting. At the end, the writer tells about his sorrow and regret, which he cannot get over. [334]

From the second issue, Osman Sebrî joined them. He actively wrote in *Hawar* and contributed to *Hawar* as both a writer and poet.[335] One can sense his strong patriotism from his poems and it is obvious from his prose and poems that as well as the pen he also believed in the sword in order to succeed.

In one of his poems[336] Osman Sebrî calls out to Kurdistan saying that he would sacrifice himself for this cause and would not care about being exiled in Syria. He adds that if there was no chance

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[333] Qedrîcan, "Sond", *Hawar* issue 35, p.8
["Her rojên havînê ko zû ji xew radibim û sibehên ewravî dibînim, mîna herkesî, zarotiya min tê bîra min. Welatê min î kesk, cihê ko lê hatim dinê tê ber çavên min û bê hemdê min hêstirên min diherikin ser destê min ê çepê. Li tiliya xwe a biçûk dinêrim, li ser movika navîn; li dewsa wê birina peresteşî xêzeke biçûk û spî xuya dike, û hêj germiya lêvên hevalê min ê fedakar tê de ye. Di pişt re xeyaleta hevalê xwe a qehreman, wî hevalê ko jî bona sonda xwe, ji bona xelasiya hevalê xwe, bi kûçikê har re pence pence şer dikir."]

[334] Qedrîcan, "Guneh", *Hawar,* issue 39, p.5
[335] Mehmed Uzun, *Antlojiya Kurdî*, Istanbul: Aram publishing, 2003, p.184
[336] Ew çiyayên bilind, avên di sar, parîzên rengîn, Ew bedewên çak, delalîyên pak zerîyên narîn, Çar bûn? Kude çûn? Li ku mane? Ha bêje..., Ew derdê bê derman ku ez kirime dîn, Di riya felatê de, ger çiqas bi westim, Pê kêfxweş dibim, billahî ez nabim xemgîn...Ez minetê negirim, ji bona mayîna Sûrîyê...Hê vir jî nebit eve di rex min de Filistîn, Bîstekê nikarim te biderxim ji bîra xwe..Dixwazim bila min bişînin nav Çîn û Maçîn..Dema ko nikaribim li erdê Sûrîyê biaxivim.. Min dest daye birayê xwe yê Cigerxwîn..
Axayê Mîrdêsî (Osman Sebrî), Welat, *Hawar, issue 19, p.2*

of carrying on with his work in Syria, he would venture to go to other parts of the world, like China etc. Konê Reş says that he was threatened by French officers to be sent into exile, because of his fight for freedom. Konê Reş says that he was different from other intellectuals of the time saying that they should find a way to succeed by using the sword.[337] His believe in an armed struggle becomes clear in many of his pieces such as this poem;

> Kurdish patriots, for the sake of independency,
> Must spill blood in a generous way.
> In addition, work is needed for the country
> In order to have rules and laws
> Pride and wealth need work
> We will not reach the country without spilling blood[338]

With the fourth issue, one sees that many other writers had joined the *Hawar* family and Cegerxwîn is one of the leading one. He was another great contributor to *Hawar*. Cegerxwîn had studied theology and became a mullah in 1928.[339] In his memories, he says that while he was training with Şewqî Begê Erxanî, he became conscious about his national identity, before that he used to write his poems in Arabic as well.[340] His poems were mostly patriotic and expressed his love for his country. He asks Celadet in one of his poet;

> Wounded, because of the sorrow of the homeland. Do you have any cure for that?[341]

He also wrote poems about Kurdish notables complaining of their inaction with respect to the issues regarding Kurds and Kurdistan. In one of his prose, he singles out religious people,

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[337] Konê Reş, *Osman Sebrî*, internet article http://amouda.com/osman-sebri.htm (last access in June 13, 2012)
[338] Osman Sebrî, "Marşa canbêzaran", *Hawar* issue 49, p.4
["Kurde gelparêz, Ji bo serxwebûn /Divê birjînî, Bi comerdî xwîn /Him divê xebat, Ji bona welat/Da bibin Xudan, Rêzik û qanûn/ « Serbilindi dewlemendî divêtin xebat »/« Bê dijwarî bê xwînxwarî em naçin welat »"]
[339] Mehmed Uzun, *Antlojiya Kurdî*, Istanbul: Aram publishing, 2003, p.165
[340] Mehmed Uzun, *Antlojiya Kurdî*, Istanbul: Aram publishing, 2003, p.165
[341] Cegerxwîn, "Kula Dil", *Hawar* 9, p.6
["Birîndar e, ji ber daxa welat e Gelo derman heye je re, li ba te"]

complaining that they never mention the need for schools, they do not tell people about the importance and the beauty of the Kurdish language. He also asks religious people to write books in Kurdish, mentioning that Indians, Persians and Afghans write theirs in their own languages.[342]

As I mentioned before Hevindê Sorî was a writer from South Kurdistan and wrote about the unity of the Kurdish language and literature. His articles were in Soranî. He started his journey at *Hawar* with the fourth issue, giving information about Hecî Qadirê Koyî.

Nûredîn Ûsiv who is thought to be one of the pioneers of the Kurdish short story and modern literature joins the cadre in the second period. His short stories are widely accepted to be among the first Kurdish modern sense stories.[343] He was also named as the 'Çehov of Kurds' by Celadet Bedirxan.[344]

Celadet's brother, Kamiran Alî Bedirxan another multilingual person of the family, was another supporter of Celadet's project of improving Kurdish identity by publishing the journal *Hawar*. Kamiran Bedirxan, along with many other Kurdish intellectuals had joined Xoybûn under the leadership of his brother. He did not leave his brother publishing the periodical alone. Kamiran wrote in many forms in *Hawar*. He wrote poems which dealt with love and poems concerned with the patriotic struggle. His prose covered several issues ranging from language, geography, and history to respectability. He also wrote short stories alluding to the loss suffered at enemy hands. In addition, he translated pieces from other languages like quatrains from Omar Khayyam.

One of his poems named, 'Yekbûn û Yekitiya Kurdî' (Unity and Union of Kurds) is like a

[342] Cegerxwîn, Rastiyê bibêjin çendî ko li ser we be jî (Tell the Truth, even if it is about you.), *Hawar* 10, Arabic Script part, p.5
[343] Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan, Celadet Bedirxan, Çavkaniyên *Hawar*ê û Kurdayetiya Nû, (Celadet Bedirxan, Sources of *Hawar* and The New Kurdishness) in the Kurdish journal ZEND, Istanbul: Zend publishing, 2009 Summer.
[344] Hebeş, 2007, p. 49

summary of his discourse, traces of which can be found through all of his writings.[345]

(...) Kurds from the homeland of Iraq, Syria .... are united hopefully and share the same idea....[346]

In the poem, Kamiran, mentions different dialects spoken by Kurds and defines all the people speaking different dialects of Kurdish, as Kurds.

He mentions Zarathustra as the archaic religious leader of Kurds, and his discourse as the archaic philosophy of Kurds. He also refers to the Holy book Zend-Avesta. He mentions names of important Kurds such as Selahaddin Eyyubî and Ehmedê Xanî. He calls the state of Med as the origin of Kurds. He mentions many geographical places as being the homeland of Kurds namely, Agirî, Sîne, Wan, Muş and Zîlan. He also says being Sunî, alevî or êzîdî is besides the point, the point is being Kurdish. Kurds are all one nation.

With the exception of a few letters from its readers, Rewşen Bedirxan was the only woman who contributed to *Hawar*. Rewşen Bedirxan, the daughter of Salih Bedirxan Beg and Samiye Bedrî Paşa, graduated from a teacher training faculty and worked as an Arabic language teacher for a while. She worked as a translator for the publishing houses for a living. She learned Turkish, French and English as well. She was married to Celadet Bedirxan and they had two children, Sînemxan and Cemşîd. She wrote many articles and translated some work from other languages into Kurdish as well.

In 1934, she became a member of the *Komeleya Yekîtiya Jinan* (Woman Union Society).In 1934, on behalf of Syrian woman; she attended the World Woman Conference. In 1957, an anti-

[345] Many of his pieces will be analyzed in following parts.
[346] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Yekbûn û Yekitiya Kurdî'", *Hawar,* issue 4, p.2
["This Lor and Bextiyarî Baban, Kurdmanc and Hewreman and Zaza Ev Lor û Bextiyarî Baban; Qurdmanc û Hevreman û zazan ;Qurdên . ji welatê Rom û Sorî ,Qurdên Ecem û Irak û Sûrî , Qurdên ji welatê jor Serçav bilind û zexm Q,urdên ji Blûc û Qurdên Efgan ,di hêvî de yeq in û yeq di raman"]

colonialist conference was organized and she attended this conference with the Kurdish flag.[347]

Two articles were published with her signature in *Hawar*. Both of them were on womens issues. The first one came out with the last period of *Hawar* in the twenty-seventh issue under the title *"Stûna Kebaniyan"* (Women's Column) on page seven. Her article's title is 'Kebanî û Mamoste (House-wife and Teacher) Kebanî means the woman responsible for organizing and managing the house and it is also the word used for housewife. The latter's use of the word does not give an exact meaning for there is no 'wife' in it.

Rewşen Bedirxan says that judging solely by the title one may think that it is going to be about dressmaking or cooking. She goes on by saying that one may also ask why these two words are together; 'housewife and teacher.' She then says that every housewife should also be a teacher, adding that a womens first duty is to be a mother and to manage the house. She believes that nothing comes before these two duties. She then goes on by saying that if you look deeply you will see that women play a big part in a nations' social progress. Women both directly and indirectly have an impact on a nations' life. Therefore, after their primary duties, women also have secondary ones. She adds that "men, who hold the faith of their nations in their hands, are brought up by women". "They were first trained and learned manners from women. And the things learned in that early age are never forgotten. They continue in life with those morals which they carry with them from home." She also says Kurdish women have to teach their children how to read and write because their children unlike other children do not learn their mother tongue at school but they learn a foreigners' language and sometimes they end up forgetting their language. Relying on these she warnes Kurdish women to be more careful about their children's education.

[347] The information about Rewşen Bedirxan was gathered from these web-sites: http://www.celadet.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=342 (Last accesess:06-02-2012) and http://politikart1.blogspot.com/2011/07/rewsen-bedirxan-1909-1992.html (Last accesess:06-02-2012)

The two articles from Rewşen Bedirxan are important since they are the only two written by a female author and are about the 'role of women' in promoting a society. One can observe a gendered role featured for women in the nation building process; the fate of a nation is in the hands of men and the women's role is to support them in this process. Women also have a role in modernizing society by educating their children in the 'right manner'.

Besides these two articles, there are also some stories based on the heroic struggle of a woman for her nation.

One is from Nûredîn Ûsif with the title 'Gulê'[348]

In the story enemies surround a village and the villagers do not know what to do. A Kurdish bandit Qoço, known for his bravery and cruelty came to the room where villagers had come together. He said he had been doing bad things so far. Now he is ready to fight with them in order to clean the hometown from its enemies. The villagers promised to die for the country. Then a woman appears. She is 'Qoço's woman' who killed her husband to be with Qoço. The villagers do not like her and find her out of step with the morals of their society. The woman says she wants to fight too. The villagers send her away. At the end, she kills the enemy's commander and is killed mistakenly. Then she becomes a hero.

Besides these mentioned writers there are also some writers which appear rarely or just once and also there are some names which are widely accepted as being pen-names of Celadet Bedirxan. In his PhD thesis, Husên Hebeş, mentions about thirteen pen-names that Celadet Bedirxan used in *Hawar*;[349] Herkolê Azîzan, *Hawar*, Xwediyê *Hawar*ê, Xwediyê *Hawar* û Ronahiyê, Bavê Cemşîd,Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemê, Stranvan, Stranvanê *Hawar*ê, Xeberguhêz, Nêrevan, Seydayê

[348] Nûredîn Ûsif, "Gulê", *Hawar* 29, p.8
[349] Husên Hebeş, *Raperîna çanda kurdî di kovara Hawarê de*, Bonn: Hogir Publishing, 1996, p.164

Gerok, Mamosteyê Gerok, Stranvanê Jêliyan. These are widely accepted as Celadet Bedirxan's pen-names.

Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan claims that there were more than these thirteen and he gives a longer list of thirty-three pen-names; [350]

> Celadet A. Bedirxan, Nêrevan, Herekol Azîzan, Hawar, Nivîsanoka Hawarê, Xeberguhêz, Stranbêjê Jêlîyan, Stranvanê Jêlîyan, Stranvanê Hawarê, Xwedîyê Hawarê, Stranvan, Ferhengvan, Rasteder, Şîretbêj, Çîrokbêj, Mamosteyê Gerok, Seydayê Gerok, Feqîrê telqînbêj, Pirsiyarkarê Kurdan, Şevger, Farisîxwîn, Farisîxanîn, Bişarê Segman, Cemşîd, Bavê Cemşîd, Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemxanê, Koçerê Botan, Yekî Vexendî, Diya Ferzo, Lawikî Pijderî, Newîn, Dilistan, Şebistan

Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan claims that Celadet used so many pen-names in order to make people believe that *Hawar* had many writers. He goes on by saying that, in doing this Celadet believed that the journal would be more valuable both for Kurds and the foreigners. [351] He bases his claim on this question; 'Who are these people that nobody knows them.' He underlines the well-known people who I mentioned above like Qedrîcan or Osman Sebrî and says the other names are a mystery. This claim is a challenging one and I could not find any arguments against it. Since this is a matter calling for a deeper analysis, which needs looking at from both a linguistic and a discursive perspective, this will not be my main concern, I will just confine myself to citing the list he had worked on.

In *Hawar*, many different genre of prose appeared; short stories, essays, reviews, opinion pieces, memories, travel books. There are many poems and also a theatre script. The news from

[350] Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan, "Celadet Bedirxan, Çavkaniyên *Hawar*ê û Kurdayetiya Nû", (Celadet Bedirxan, Sources of *Hawar* and The New Kurdishness) in the Kurdish journal *ZEND*, Istanbul: Zend publishing, 2009 Summer. (The numbers given next to the pen-names are the numbers for the issues on which articles under these names appeared.)

[351] Ibrahim Seydo Aydoğan, "Celadet Bedirxan, Çavkaniyên *Hawar*ê û Kurdayetiya Nû", (Celadet Bedirxan, Sources of *Hawar* and The New Kurdishness) in the Kurdish journal *ZEND*, Istanbul: Zend publishing, 2009 Summer.

Kurdistan and the world are also seen on *Hawar*'s pages. Especially in the third period of *Hawar* with the signature of Nêrevan, which is believed to be Celadet's pen-name, news about WWII often came out. Again in the third period, from the twenty-seventh issue up to the last issue (except the fifty-second one) one or two pages set aside for Commentary of the Koran (Tefsîra Quranê).

At the beginning there is a note under the Commentary of the Koran, which says;

> 'By the mercy of the God we have finished the Commentary of Koran. We are publishing them on the pages of *Hawar*. And here are our sources;
> «Tibyan»; tefsîra Quranê - Çapxana Arit Efendî; Derseadet 1324.«Mewakib »; Tefsîra Quranê – Çapxana Arif Efendî; Derseadet 1324.
> « Tefsîra Quranê » Celaleyn: Celal-ed-dîn Muliammed; Celal-ed-dîn Ebdir-rehman; Çapxana
> Haşimiye Şam 1357 Hc.
> «Qurtebî»; Tefsîra Quranê; El-Qurtebî; Qahire-1933.
> Tercima Quranê bi zimanê elraanî «Der Koran» von Max Henning Leipzig 1901; Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun.

During the third period, Bedirxan brothers started publishing quotes from the prophet Mohammed on pages of *Hawar*. They published 702 quotes from the twenty-seventh issue up to forty-seventh one.

There were also many folkloric songs, poems, riddles and proverbs on *Hawar*'s pages. Bedirxan was determined to collect any folkloric knowledge from the Kurdish people. In one of his articles, he mentions this on the trip he had taken with Major Noel to Kurdistan.[352] He was collecting words in Kurmancî and also folk songs, stories and other folkloric things. In another

[352] Celadet Bedirxan, "Pêşgotingek", *Hawar* issue 13, pp.1-3 (This is the prologue for Celadet's book named 'Elfabêya Kurdî' published in 1932)

article he calls people to record oral/ folkloric literature saying that they are very valuable because they both contain words and phrases from today's language and also words and phrases from old languages which are about to disappear.[353] Collecting all kinds of folkloric knowledge in Kurdish and spreading it among the Kurds was also on the agenda of the work of *Hawar* as declared in the first issue.

There was also a small dictionary in many issues of *Hawar* which consisted of words that appeared in that issue. Celadet Bedirxan started publishing a small dictionary (ferhengok) from the first issue, saying that there may be some words that the readers were not familiar with, that is why they will publish a dictionary. This dictionary does not occur in every issue.

There are many themes which repeatedly occurred on *Hawar*'s pages. The most repeated one is the issue of language. Many articles are devoted to the importance of language for Kurds in order to exist or to survive. Many articles indicate the close relationship between the nation's existence and the promotion of the language.

Another repeated theme is the necessity of the unity and alliance for Kurds. In many prose and poems the intellectuals call on Kurds to unite and fight for the nation. In the second issue with his famous article, 'Lehî' (Flood), Celadet Bedirxan emphasizes the importance of unity for a nation: "Nations and states have improved through unity, and they have also collapsed through faction."[354] He likens the unity of a nation with a flood which he says consists of drops. He says by uniting, a nation can have the power just like a flood sweeping up the things in front of it: "Our nation's independency is up to this flood to rise up."[355]

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[353] Hawar, "Dersxane", *Hawar* 17, Arabic Script Part, pp 2-5
[354] Celadet Bedirxan, "Lehî", *Hawar* 2, p.2
["Milet û dewletan bi tifakê gibanebilindîya qortala neyînê "]
[355] Celadet Bedirxan, "Lehî", *Hawar* 2, p.2

As mentioned above the love for the homeland and call to fight for the country is another main theme of prose and poems that appeared on *Hawar*'s pages. An example will be from the sixth issue:

> "But, my homeland, homeland of mum and dad, homeland of my grandfather and ancestors. My sweet Homeland, when I tell you that I love you, believe me."[356]

Another example would be two lines from a poem published in the twelth issue:

> Get up my brothers, get up, get up, We shall rain towards our homeland
>
> We shall throw the enemies out of the country of our father and grandfathers. [357]

Publishing the research on the history and geography of Kurdistan was on the agenda of the work of *Hawar* which was manifested in the first issue. Accordingly, *Hawar*'s authors like Celadet Bedirxan, Kamiran Bedirxan, Osman Sebrî wrote articles on Kurdistan's history and geography. They also translated pieces from other languages or cited works done by outsiders like the one by Kamiran published in the sixteenth issue. In this issue, he mentions Evliya Çelebi's travel book and reports that in his book, which is well known among European intellectuals, Evliya Celebi draws the map of Kurdistan and says that this territory belongs to the Kurds.

Before putting an end to this part, one more point about the journal that I feel I ought to mention is that the journal does not seem to be a society's organ on the contrary to other publications mentioned in the previous chapter, namely *KTTG*, *Roj-î* Kurd and *Jîn*. According to Husên

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["Felata welatê me di rabûna vê lehîyê de ye."]

[356]Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, Ji Min Bawer Bike, *Hawar* 6, p.2

["Le welatê min, welatê dê û bavê min, welatê qal û qalikên min, welatê min ê şîrin, gava ez ji te re dibêjim qo ez hez ji te diqim ji min bawer bibe."]

[357] Evdirehmen Fewzî, Gazî, *Hawar* 12, p.3

[Rabin brano, rabin rabin Ber bi welêt em bibarin
Em derêxin van neyaran Ji welatê bav û qalan Qurdistana me dêlal e]

Hebeş, some scholars claim that *Hawar* was the organ of Xoybûn society, but he also rejects this claim saying that there is no evidence of it.[358]

After supplying an overview of the process which is believed to have led Celadet Bedirxan to devote himself to the Kurdish cultural revival and the promotion of the Kurdish Language and having displayed an overview about the periodical *Hawar*, I will now begin my comprehensive analysis on the periodical trying to understand why Celadet and his comrades put the promotion of the Kurdish language at the centre of their agenda.

[358] Husên Hebeş, *Raperîna Çanda Kurdî di Kovara Hawarê de*, Hogir publishing, Bonn, published on the internet in 2007

Chapter IV: Building national identity through language.

Many scholars argue that language is the core marker of ethnic and national identity; that is to say for defining a nation, language is the most stressed component of a national identity. However, that is not for sure for all the cases, looking through some nationalist movements on a nation-wide scale, language's importance may decrease, as other factors such as religion, territory, or additional socio-economic features come forth. The stress on language may also decrease when the leading elites somehow lessen the significance of the language discourse and stress other characteristics of a society like race, religion or the territory.

In their dissertation titled 'Nationalism and Political Conflict in Spain' Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther have searched for language politics in Euskadi (The Basque Country) and Catalunya.[359] Having looked into the components of both Basque and Catalan Nationalisms they claim that "language is a central feature of both Basque and Catalan nationalism". However, they also add that "the specific roles played by language in the initial ideologies of these two movements were somewhat different" at their initial stages. They go on by saying that "from the beginning, language lay at the very heart of Catalan nationalist beliefs. Catalan language and culture, in effect, defined the Catalan national identity". To support their claim they display some documents from the early 20th century. One of them is a statement from the Catalan Cultural Committee written in 1924; "Our language, the expression of our people, which can never be given up... is the spiritual foundation of our existence."'[360] Having read this statement the centrality of language in the constructive discourse of the nation becomes clearer. Shabad and

[359] Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther, " Nationalism, and Political Conflict in Spain", in *Comparative Politics*, vol. 14, No. 4 (Jul., 1982), pp. 443-477 York, Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/421632 .Accessed: 18/08/2011
[360] Catalin Cultural Committee statement of 1924, quoted in Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther 1982

Gunther states that “Language was also stressed in early formulations of Basque nationalist ideology. However unlike Catalan, Euskera did not play the same central role in defining Basque national identity. Instead, it was ethnicity ("race"), and not language, that lay at the core of its definition.” They state that “The principle objective of the Basque nationalist movement, historically, was to restore and protect the traditions of the "Euskeran race" from contamination by "maketos" (Spaniards). On the contrary to Catalan’s case “language, rather than serving primarily to define national identity, was viewed as an instrument by which that nationality could defend itself.” Shabad and Gunther support their claim by quoting from the founder of the Basque Nationalist party (PNV) and its principle ideologue, Sabino de Aranay Goiri who, in 1965, says the following; “It is not to speak this or the other language, but rather the difference between languages which is the great means of preserving ourselves from the contagion of Spaniards and avoiding the mixing of the two races. If our invaders were to learn Euskera, we would have to abandon it, carefully archiving its grammar and dictionary, and dedicate ourselves to speaking Russian, Norwegian or any other language, as long as we are subject to their domination”. Shabad and Gunther draw conclusion from their study that, “language initially played a fundamentally different role in the early ideologies of Basque and Catalan nationalism”.

In this chapter, I will try to find out the traces of the language as a discursive component of Kurdish Nationalism, whether it played a major role or not, by reading through the pieces published on *Hawar*’s pages.

Anderson states that the existence of the community or nation is often imagined through language, and thus stresses the role of language in imagining and creating nationhood. Anderson discusses the importance of language in forming solidarity to create such nationhood in the following terms: “It is always a mistake to treat language in the way that certain nationalist

ideologues treat them as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dance, and the rest. The most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarity."[361] He explains how the role of language in forming solidarity differs from that of the national flag and costume, presenting the term "experience of simultaneity." For instance, language can provide a "special kind of contemporaneous community," especially in the form of poetry and songs.[362]

The relationship between language and nationalism is a central topic for all those concerned with language issues. Dating from the 18th century with the occurrence of national identity, language has been considered as the most important element which characterizes a nation. The German Romantics believed that national communities are natural and unique. They argued that even if these communities should forget their true identities they could reclaim their authentic selves through an "awakening of consciousness."[363] Many nationalist, such as Fichte and Herder known as the ideologists of nationalist thought, have claimed that language is the basis of national community.

According to national ideologists, language could not be an invention of individual attempts; there should be the contribution of all the nations for language's occurrence. In his essay treatise on the origins of language, Herder wrote:

> Every nation has its own storehouse of thought rendered into signs; this is its national language: a store to which the centuries have added, that has waxed and waned like the moon, that has experienced revolutions and transformations, [language is] the treasury and the thought of an

[361] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London:Verse, 2006, p.148/149
[362] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London:Verse, 2006, p.148/149
[363] Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism,* New York: Harper & Row, 1971 p.17

entire people.[364]

Fichte similarly claimed that language reflects the soul of the nation. Fichte emphasizes the importance of language as a natural basis to determine what a nation is and how one nation differs from another.[365]

1-Language as a *Sine Qua Non* for a Nation

Brian Weinstein, underlines that linguistic symbols become a powerful weapon for political elites if they are legitimized or accepted by significant numbers of people. They are sources of power to demand economic and power benefits for new ethnicities or nationalities in whose name they claim to speak.[366]

Celadet Bedirxan and his comrades, other intellectuals contributed to *Hawar*, called on the nation to awaken from their sleep of ignorance. Aside from trying to instil notions of the necessity and value of education in their readers, these intellectuals built the foundation for the construction of a Kurdish national identity. In order to unite Kurds in the name of a common identity, they knew that they had to postulate the Kurds as a separate distinct group with a highly promoted language.

Nation-builders have seen language as one true marker of an ethnic identity, since it is often the easiest way of finding truly common intrinsic features in a community. This essentiality has been attractive for different nationalistic elites and nation-builders. Reading the pieces published in *Hawar* I came up with the idea that this essentiality was also prevailing for the *Hawar* cadre.

[364] Morton, Michael. *Herder and the Poetics of Thought*, Pennsylvania State UP, 1989, p.135.
[365] Motohide Saji, "Nation, Race, Language, and Spirituality: Reading Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation", International University of Japan, February 2011, p.8
[366] Brian Weinstein "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices, in World Politics", in *World Politics,* Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364, Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993 (Accessed: 09/10/2011 04:01), p.346.

They made their graph which they believed would lead to a new identity based on a shared culture and language and they started emphasizing the importance of language in order for a Kurdish nation to exist.

In line with this idea Celadet would write in one of his articles;

> Language is the basis of our existence. Without language, we cannot live and we cannot exist among other nations. That is the same for all the nations, especially for those who, like us, under the ruling of nations who are co-religionist.
> Oppressed nations can defend their existence from the sovereigns with the use of two weapons; one is religion, and the other is language. If the religion of oppressed and sovereign nations is the same, there remains only one weapon and that is the language.[367]

Celadet is clearly aware that the unity and vitality of language is more long lasting for survival and more permanent than the unity of religion. As Joshua Fishman mentions religions are often shared with other peoples and, at any rate, have a too firmly established elite of their own, traditions of their own, and task orientation of their own to be easily captured and manipulated.[368]

In the same article, emphasizing the importance of the Kurdish language as a must for a Kurdish nation to continue its existence Celadet says the following;

> There is a well-known saying; those nations who are suppressed by others and did not lose their language are like a slave who has the key of his jail. One day he/she opens the door and gets out.[369]

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[367] *Hawar*, Heyîneke Yek Salî, *Hawar* issue 20, p.1-3
["Divêt bête zanîn qo ziman jî hîmê heyîna me ye û bê zmanê xwe em niqarin bijîn û di nav qoma miletan de weq mileteqî serxwe bimînin û paydar bibin. Ji xwe ji bona her miletî jî holê ye. Nemaze ji bona me û ji bona wanmiletên qo qetine riqanê mileteqî hevol."]

[368] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism, Two Integrative Essays,* USA: Newbury House Publishing, 1975, p.49

[369] *Hawar*, "Heyîneke Yek Salî", *Hawar* issue 20, p.1-3
["Le yê ko zmanê xwe winda qiriye mifta zindana wî êdî ne di destê wî, lê di destê dijminê wî de ye û dijmin derîyê zîndana girtiye xwe tucar venaqe. Ew mifte, irû hêj di destê me de ye."]

He stresses that the one who has lost his language does not carry the key out of the jail and adds;

> This key is still in our hands.

These lines from *Hawar*'s pages remind Fichte's thought on the protection of national existence. In discussing how to preserve the German nation, Fichte says;

> Long before the most recent events [that happened between France and Germany], we had to hear, in advance as it were, a saying which since then has frequently been repeated in our ears: that even if our political independence were lost we should still keep our language and our literature, and thereby always remain a nation; so we could easily console ourselves for the loss of everything else.[370]

If there is something that needs no questioning about its legitimacy to an ethnic group, then it is language; a symbol of the unique status of the nation itself. Language was also to be a link to the modern community of nation-states. Overlapping concerns can be found in the pages of Celadet Ali Bedirxan's journal *Hawar*, linking language as a key for the entry of a community of nations.

In one of his articles, Celadet calls to Kurdish Youth that they should know and identify themselves;

> Your existence, your nation's existence can only come into life by being legitimized in the eye of others. Unless you are legitimized, you do not legitimize yourself, you do not exist among the other nations. [371]

He stresses that being legitimized by others is only possible by knowing and identifying oneself. He then wants them to know "which nation they belong to" and "what language is theirs". Knowing their origin and language, they would first become aware of their identity, and then make others aware of the existence of Kurds.

[370] Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Addresses to the German Nation*, New York: Harper & Row. 1968, p.182
[371] Celadet Bedirxan, Xwe Binas, *Hawar* issue 18, Arabic Script Part, pp. 1-6

In another of his articles, Celadet directly ties up being Kurd and Kurdishness to the Kurdish language and he calls to those who do not speak Kurdish in an angry manner:

> Hey you losers!
> You have been trying to learn foreigners' language for a long time and you are still learning in order to say palavers.
> It is a shame! Either learn your language or do not say we are Kurd. Kurdishness without language is not an honour for you and a shame for us. How holy are those people who have been literate in their language. They have taken their key to their existence and gotten rid of the dominance of foreigners. What a shame for those who can read and write in other languages but not in his/her mother tongue.[372]

As can be seen in lines above Celadet and his comrades, trying to build a sense of loyalty to the nation, did not hesitate citing language as a matter of honour. Celadet would call people who give importance to their language as people of honour;

> Kurds who have the respect for their nation and country have developed their knowledge and have worked in order to improve reading and writing in their language.[373]

While the Kurdish language was stressed as the cornerstone of the Kurdish national identity, speaking, reading and writing in Kurdish were stressed as the duty of being a Kurd;

> Today, reading and writing in one's national language is not only an individual duty but also a national one. Those who do not perform this duty have not served for their nation. In order to feel

[372] Celadet Bedirxan [With the pen-name 'Xwediyê *Hawar*ê'], "Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê", *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5. ["Malxirabino ma we ew çend wext nine, hon ko ji bo hînbûna zmanên biyaniyan bi salan ve xebitîne û îro jî bixebitin, ji bona ko bikarin « fînFoneke» derewîn bi lêv bikin.Kuro eyb e, serm e, fehit e. An hînî zmanê xwe bibin, an mebêjin em Kurd in. Bê zman Kurdîtî ji we re ne tu rûmet e, ji me re rûreşîke giran e. Pesn û şabaş û hezar pîroz ji wan re ko hinî xwendin û nivisandina zmanê xwe bûne û bi vî awayî mitta heyîna xwe xistine bêrika xwe û ji bin bandêra miletên biyanî bi der ketine. Heyf û xebînet û hezar mixabin, nemaze ji wan re ko bi zmanên din dizanin bixwînin binvîsînin û elfabiya zmanê xwe hêj nas nakin."]

[373] Celadet Bedirxan [With the pen-name 'Xwediyê *Hawar*ê'], Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê, *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5. ["Di wan salan de ji kurdên ko bîrewerê heyina xwe ne û di dilê wan de rûmeta milet û welêt heye bi hinbûna xwendin û nivîsandina zmanê xwe xebitîn û zanîna xwe pêş ve, birin."]

> oneself as a member of this nation, one should serve for the nation.[374]

Language was considered the strongest marker for differentiating the Kurdish population from neighbouring peoples and it served in creating others through language.

In one of his articles, Kamiran Bedirxan stresses the importance of fighting for the Kurdish language in order to protect it from other languages' attacks and to survive;

> Languages are in a battle as well because each language wants to improve, generate and reshape. Languages want to kill other languages and occupy their places. We know from the world's history that many languages have been killed; these languages are called dead languages.
> During the battles between languages, languages' spirits are taken, they are losing power and the basis for their existence is lost.
> The sovereign languages start to kill other languages by killing their words and then they occupy these languages to the deepest parts.
> Our language, even if it is not dead, is under threat, unless we care, it will die.[375]

Citing other languages as the attackers, Kamiran claims that the Kurdish language is under attack. He goes on by calling on Kurds to protect their language from outsiders.

Kamiran and the others' concern of the Kurdish language being under attack seems to be related with another requirement of a language; **vitality**, that is, the existence of the interaction networks

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[374] Celadet Bedirxan [With the pen-name 'Herekol Azîzan'], Zilamek û Zimanek, *Hawar*, issue 40, p. 4. [" Îro hînbûna xwendin û nivisandina zimanê mader jib o her milletî êdî ne bi tenê wezifeke şexsî lê wezifeke millî ye jî"]

[375] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Di Dora Hevxistina Zimanan de", *Hawar* issue 3, pp1-2
["Zman jî weq her tist li hev dixin , nekeba wan nîne , di şerî de ne . Ji ber qo her zman dil diqe mezintir bibe hawîdorên xwe veqe , biqeve lêvên nû , serên nû. Ev yeq. Jû pêve zman dixwazin zmanên din biqujin û biqevin şûna wan. Di şerê zmanan de , rihê zmanan tên standin , xurtliya dil û canên wan tên şqênandin û pêta heyîna wan tên vequştin.
Zmanên qo li hev dixin dest bi quştina pirsên hev diqin. Dil diqin , herçend heye ewçend biqevin hindurê zmanên din tê de cih bibin hêdî hêdî biqevin :qûrîyên wî zmanî û di paşîyê de çarnîqarên wî bigirin, ewî ji hîm û riqnên xwe hildiveşînin û ser xerabeyên wî binyaneqe nû ava diqin û tê de, di naav wê avahiya nûjen de dibrûsqin. Herçend zmanê me ne qetî be jî bin vê talûqeyê, heqe mikate mebin dê biqeve."]

that actually employ it natively for one or more vital functions.[376] It is extremely significant that there actually would be living speakers of it on an everyday basis. Miroslav Hroch brings out the socio-psychological factor by which there existed a feeling that the existence of the emerging nation was endangered by the loss of its language,[377] and this belief was a very powerful stimulator for elites, in other words, the nation-builders. That's why the *Hawar* cadre while praising the Kurdish language, they were also calling on Kurds to fight for the language not to die, they knew that they could only demand their rights with an existing language; in line with this wish; Celadet, complaining about those who do not care about the Kurdish language would make a call;

> Learn, learn, learn, learn
> Teach, teach, teach, teach
> It is not enough to learn we should also teach. Every Kurd who knows how to read and write should also teach to those who do not know.[378]

2. Constructing Others through the Language

Red-eye people came, they were called as Rom[379]
They banned our lovely language
They made us speak their language
From then, it was a big challenge to speak Kurmancî[380]

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[376] Joshua A. Fishman, *The Sociology of Language*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972, p. 21
[377] Miroslav Hroch, *The social interpretation of linguistic demands in European national movements*, Florence: European University Institute, 1994, 33
[378] Celadet Bedirxan (With the pen-name 'Xwediyê *Hawar*ê'), "Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê", *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5.
["Hîn bin, Hin bin, Hin bin Hîn kin, Hîn kin, Hîn kin Belê bi tenê hînbûn ne besî me ye. Divêt em hîn bikin jî. Her kurdê ko xwendin û nivisandinê dizane divêt yên ko nizanin bielimîne. Ji kurdê xwenda re divêt, heke ber destên wî de Kurdên nezan nînin, li wan bigere, wan peyda û hîn bike."]
[379] Kurds have widely called Tursk as "Rom, Romî"
[380] Qedrîcan, "Di Şorezarekê de", *Hawar* issue 10, p.4
["Mirovên çavsor hatin, jê re digotin rom e
Zmanê me î delal(yasaq)krin bizorî
Zmanê xwe î dixwar bo me kirin mecbûrî
Êdin curmek mezin bû, bi Kurdmancî xeberdan"]

The praise of a language has always walked hand in hand with the negative judgment of other (often neighbouring) languages.[381] This phenomenon can be named as a sort of linguistic ethnocentrism and praising the Kurdish language can be found in many pieces from the pages of *Hawar*.

In the eighth issue, Celadet writes about his journey to Beirut. He was there to buy paper for the journal to be published on. While hanging around he came across a group of Kurdish men by chance. He wanted one of them to carry the papers that he would buy. While speaking, the man understood that he was one of the Bedirxanîs and he showed him great respect. Then the man started to talk about the sweetness of the Kurdish language. He says he has heard many languages such as Turkish, Arabic; French and English, neither of them sound as beautiful as Kurdish. He adds that those poor people cannot speak Kurdish; if they could, they would not speak any other language.[382]

In one of his articles, Cegerxwîn, singles out religious people, complaining that they never mention the need for schools, they do not tell people about the importance and the beauty of the Kurdish language. He says that Kurdish students study for many years the Arabic language, but they still cannot speak Arabic and they also end up forgetting their mother tongue. He asks religious people to write books in Kurdish, mentioning that Indians, Persians and Afghans all write in their own language. He goes on by saying that Kurdish is no less precious than the others; on the contrary it is an easy, active, beautiful and wide language. He then asks, so why not read and write in Kurdish. Why not write books in Kurdish.[383]

Praising the Kurdish language means aggrandizing it over the others. In this way, Kurdish elites

[381] Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 67
[382] Celadet Bedirxan, "Şêraniya Zimanê Kurdmancî", *Hawar*, issue 8, pp. 1-2
[383] Cegerxwîn,"Rastiyê Bibêjin çendî ko li ser we be jî", *Hawar*, issue 10, in Arabic Script Part, pp.5-6

tried both to make the Kurdish language precious in the eyes of Kurds and to put a distance between it and other languages. Celadet himself made a clear comment praising the capacity of the Kurdish language over other languages;

> There is one more thing that I have to say, our language's seeds are very strong, they grow in every farm very quickly. Without any hesitation, I can say that our language is stronger than many others since it can produce new words from those who already exist in the language, just like German.[384]

Another example of this attempt is a 1933 document of some fifty pages by Celadet Bedirxan entitled 'Open letter to Mustafa Kemal, President of the Republic of Turkey.' The document is presented as a warning to Kurds who accept the offer of amnesty by the Turkish government in 1932, but in fact, the largest part of the text is dedicated to refuting the Kemalist theses regarding the Kurdish language. Celadet Bedirxan states that the Kurdish language is not a dialect of Turkish, and compares grammars in order to demonstrate that Kurdish is indeed an Indo-European language. Bedirxan even tries to demonstrate the proximity between German and Kurdish to affirm the 'superiority' of the latter in comparison with Turkish [385]

The intellectuals of the time invite their contemporaries to the battle, using the argument that they should not serve other nations and claiming that speaking in others' languages is also a way to serve the others.

In one of his articles on Kurdish literature, Hevindê Sorî says;

> Other nations, which occupied the territory that Kurds live, had a big civilization. Since Kurds

[384] *Hawar*, "Heyîneke Yek Salî", *Hawar* issue 20, p.1-3
["Tovê zmanê me toveqî ' geleq xurt e , di her zevîyê de zû şîn dibe. Em diqarin bêtirs bibêjin qo ji geleqî zmanan zûtir û çêtir. Çimqî di zmanê me de zêreqyeq heye qo jibona tişteqî nûjen bi pirsên xwe pirseqe nû ditîne pê û lê diqe. Herweqî di zmanê elmanî de."]
[385] Celadet Bedirxan, *Mustafa Kemal'e Mektup, Şam: Kitêbxana Hawarê, no:6, 1933 (edited by Mesut Keskin, Istanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2012)*

> were ignorant, they were affected by these outsiders. Kurds accepted these outsiders' language, literature, etiquette. Kurds did not struggle for their own literature and language, but they struggled for these nations'. They were not aware of their own literature's existence. Therefore, Kurdish elites contributed to these other dominant languages and literature.[386]

In the eighth issue, a letter from a young reader, who refers to Celadet Bedirxan as uncle[387] was published in *Hawar*.[388] He says that he looks forward to receiving *Hawar* each time with great excitement. When he gets the journal, he opens its sheets with a big happiness just like a thirsty person finding water. He says that he understands the language better than any other books or newspapers and he believes that the reason is that it is written in Kurdish-his mother tongue. He also adds that when he asks his father why Kurds do not have their own schools, he replied that it is because;

> All the Kurdish elites and learned men instead of serving their own nation, they had served other nations. They had improved the other nation's language and Kurdish language had left behind.[389]

The young writer goes on by saying that he now sees that the situation has not changed, except for a few elites, nobody writes in *Hawar* or cries in *Hawar*. Nobody uses <u>this square</u> of fighting. He also asks his elders why they had brought children into the earth, to be slaves.

This letter is a complaint about Kurdish elites who do not care about the Kurdish language. There

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[386] Hevindê Sorî, Edebiyatî kurdî, *Hawar*, issue 5, p.1
["Ew miletê bêganane qe hatûnete qurdistan we em wilateyan dagir qirdiwe, qemu zor lasiryan lêyan qirdiwe we şteqyan becê heştiwe, we beşî qurdeyn qe qewtûwete ber em lafawane lejêt tasirî dinû zimann tabiyatu ehwali qomelî ewane mawtewe. We çûnqe kewmî qurd nezan bûwe, destiyan qirddiwete wergirdinî medeniyet lêyan. Inca legel medeniyet, şitî diqeşyan werdigird. Weqû: ziman, edebiyat, helbest, ehwalî qowelî… h.p. Leber ew şilane q ele serewe gotman qordeqan hetaqû êstaqe le zimanî xoyan ziyatir, le edebiyati zimanani bêgane têdeqoşin. Her be boney ewewe qurdeqan bo edebiyati qurdî têneqoşiwne, we edebiyati qurdî – ewy qe heye- herwa be nezanrawî mawete we"]
[387] Kurds call their elders as uncle as a sign of respect.
[388] Wecdî Cemîl Paşa, *Hawar*ek, *Hawar* issue,8 pp.5,6
[389] Wecdî Cemîl Paşa, *Hawar*ek, *Hawar* issue,8 pp.5,6
["Ji ber qo herçî xwenda û zana rabûne şûna qo xîdmeta miletên xwe biqin, xidmeta miletên din qirin. Zmanê miletê din pêş ve birine û yê xwe şûn ve hiştine."]

are many other pieces in *Hawar* which identifies writing in others' languages as serving other nations.

Alongside with prose, there are many poems which praise the Kurdish Language using a negative judgment of other languages;

> Hawar, Kurds! Do not do that
> Do not forget the enemy's cruelty
> Do not sleep day and night
> Raise your bravery
> Hawar, Kurds! Do not do that
> Do not ruin your unity
> Do not crash your honor
> (…)
> Kurds! Hurry up!
> Make your children educated
> Teach them the law
> They may revenge our case
> Hawar, Kurds! Do not do that
> Do not speak enemy's language
> Do spread Kurdish language
> (…)[390]

Here, I shall recall the Kurdish elites of the early 20th century who wrote in the Kurdish periodicals of that era. The same concern could be sensed from the articles they wrote.

[390] Bavê Findo, "Hişyarname", *Hawar*, issue 8, in Arabic Script Part, p.3
["*Hawar*, Kurdino nekin nekin, Renca neyar ji bîr nekin, Şev û rojê hûn xew nekin, Mêraniya xwe hûn zêde kin, *Hawar*, Kurdino nekin nekin, Yekîtiya xwe wenda nekin, Namûsa xwe peymal nekin, (...) Hawar Kurdino bilezînin, Zarokên xwe bixwênînin, Bi qanûnan bizanînin, Belkî doza me hilînin, *Hawar*, Kurdino nekin nekin,Bi zimanê neyar gal gal nekin, Zimanê kurdan hûn fire kin, Keç û bûkan paymal nekin"]

In many articles Kurdish elites were aiming to encourage Kurds to take pride in their history, language and literature and also invited Kurds to reclaim their faith. Siverekli Hilmi who, in the periodical Jîn, addressed Kurdish youth is one of the examples:

> The time of following others is past .... Work only for your own people. Do not forget that we have a language of our own, however neglected, and a rich history. Here you have a formula for independence: action and initiative. [391]

In the article appearing in the periodical Roj-î Kurd, written by Xelîl Xeyalî, the question of why Kurdish scholars could write in Persian, Arabic and Turkish but not in Kurdish was discussed;

> "There are lots of nations in the world who read and write in their own languages, publish books, educate their children in their own schools and none of them says "writing and reading in our languages is difficult!" It is a shame to accept any another nation's language.[392]

As it is seen from the examples above, the Kurdish elites before *Hawar* had also warned their contemporaries not to serve other nations by speaking their languages.

Another very important feature of a language, which makes it even more popular amongst the nation-builders, is its stability and belief of a community in its everlastingness and sometimes even its holiness. Language is believed to reinforce the emotional bond to the national group by intensifying not only the continuity but also the antiquity of the national tradition.

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[391] Siverekli Hilmi, "Kurd gençlerine", *Jîn*, issue 8 in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.401
["başkalarının metaına rağbet zamanı geçti. Bazılarınızın fikirlerini işgal eden hayalât-ı vâhiyeden teberi ediniz. Yalnız kendi milletiniz için çalışınız. Unutmayınız ki bizim de bugüne kadar ihmal edilmiş vâsi' bir lisanımız, zengin bir tarihimiz vardır. İşte size bir düstur-ı felâh: Faaliyet ve teşebbüs!"]

[392] Modanî X., "Ziman û Nezanîya Kurdan" [Language and the Ignorance of the Kurds] *Roj-î Kurd,* issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.67/68
["Çira îro di dinyayê de hev qa Milet û qewm heye ku (em yek wan qenc nas nakin) hed û hesabê wê tune, bi zimanê xu dixunin, û dinivîs(in), kitêban çêdikin, û mekteb û medreseyên xwe da ta'lîm(a) zarok di xwe dikin, yek ji wan rabûye, negotiye ku biz iman(ê) me xwendin û nivisandina wê zehmet e. Ez dê bişemirînim, ziman(ê) miletek(î) dî qebûl bikim"]

3. Language as a Bridge Linking the Present to the Glorious Past

One of the major motivational emphases of nation-builders has been their insistence that the ethnic past must not be lost for within it could be found both the link to greatness as well as the substance of greatness itself. It was on both of these accounts that 'the mother tongue became almost sacred, the mysterious vehicle of all the national endeavours.[393]

The intellectuals who wrote for *Hawar* while trying to make the Kurdish language operate as a major symbol of attachment to national identity, they were strengthening the claim that the Kurdish language was an antique or / and a historic one.

The **historicity** of the language, which gives the speech community a possibility to refer to the 'respectable' ancestry in times long past, is an extremely important part in the attitudes towards language.[394]In this sense, language makes a direct tie between the past and the present of a nation and unites the members of the nations in thought and sensation.

Historicity is very significant especially for those communities that have been under the rule of another linguistic group or a multilingual empire. Under these circumstances it becomes a tool to prove that this community does have a legitimate base for self-determination, either a cultural or a regional one, with an ultimate goal of an independent state.[395]

This feature of the language serves best nationalist ideals in order to gain the prestige of this particular language and therefore of its speech community. In line with this thought the *Hawar* cadre were dedicated to proving that the Kurdish language is an authentic and historic one. The

[393] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism, Two Integrative Essays*, USA: Newbury House Publishing, 1975, p.44,45
[394] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by national elites*?, Budapeşt: Central European University, 2006, p.10
[395] Kristi Haav, What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by national elites?, Budapeşt: Central European University, 2006, p.11

idea of historicity of the Kurdish language emerges in many prose and poems published in *Hawar*.

In his article in which he addresses the Kurdish youth, Celadet says;

> Xorto! You are the bud of an ancient nation and a big people. Your ancestors are lying down on the pages of history and in the grave of brave and gentle people. You are the son of Kurds, the grandson of Medes and the future of Arian people.[396]

In the twenty-second issue Elî Seydo Gewrî, begins his article, in which he wrote suggestions for the unification of the Kurdish Language, with some quotes from Major Soane who had a trip around Kurdistan and Armenia and wrote a book about his trip;

> Those who know the Kurdish language are few. Therefore, some people say that Kurdish is a mixture of Persian and Arabic languages. Many words derive from these two languages. Some say that Kurdish is an ancient form of Persian language. Both thoughts are wrong. Kurdish is more ancient than the new Persian form. It is a proper language and it is not under the domination of Arabic as much as the Persian language is. On the contrary, Kurdish consists of many old Arian words, but the Persian language has many words from Arabic.
> Among the dialects of Kurdish language, the purest ones are Mukrî and Kurmancî. These two are closest to the Avestan language.[397]

Here the writer stresses the ancientness of the Kurdish language naming it as one of the oldest Arian languages and claiming that it has strong ties with the Avestan Language.

Well documented references to the existence of the language already long ago goes together with

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[396] Celadet Bedirxan, Xwe Binas, *Hawar* issue 18, Arabic Script Part, pp. 1-6
["Xorto! Tu çêlêyê miletekî kevin, nijadekî mezin. Pêşiyên te di rûpelên dîrokê, di gornên gernas û camiran de raketîne. Tu kurê Kurdan, neviyê medan, dahatiyê Ariyan"]

[397] Elî Seydoyê Gewrî, Sehitî – Le bo zimanê kurdî -2, *Hawar* issue 22, p.1
["Yên qo zmanê qurdî rind dizanin qêm in. Ji lewra hineq dibêjin qo ev zman ji zmanê di farisî û erebî hevdudani ye, piraniya pirsên xwe ji wan girtine. Hineqên din dibêjin qo ev zman zareqî farisiya qevn e, û pêş de ne çûye. No, her du gotin jî ne rast in. Zmanê qurdî zmaneqî geleq qevn e, ewçend qo ji zmanê farisî ê nuh jî qevntir e. Zmaneqî tequz, bi zmanazineqe binizam. Ji hêla din zmanê ne qetiye bin hiqmê zmanê erebî weqe farisî û pirsên ar…. Xwerû winda ne qieiye. Lê farisî ev winda qirine û dewlemendiya xew bi pirsêen erebî aniye pê. Di nav zarên zmanê qurdî de zarên paqtir û xwerûtir zarên muqrî û qurdmacî ne."]

the creation of the myth of common ancestry, which surely spoke this language and this makes the language in the eyes of the speakers as something ancient, primordial and sustaining.[398]

In line with this idea Kamiran Bedirxan claims that the first knowledgeable man of Kurdistan was Zarathustra;

> Zerdeşt (Zarathustra) was one of us and there are still some who believe in him. They are Êzîdîs. Since the first knowledgable man of Kurdistan was Zerdeşt, belief in him is good for us. Thanks to this knowledge, our ancient civilization, the elevation and depth of our mind and the ingenuousness of the Kurdish Nation is brought to light. Philosophy and writing, I mean the beginning of the development of the world, is tied up with our ethnic existence. Friendship and brotherhood appear in our handwriting. The name of the book of Zarathustra is Avesta. The author of it is Zarathustra. It is still a mystery when it was exactly written. Some western authors say that it was written 600 years before Christ. Some of them and also people who believe in Zarathustra think that it was written 5000 years before Christ. I believe it is an ancient, great and precious book.[399]

With this article, Kamiran ties up Kurdish nation with an ancient Philosopher, by doing this he underlines the ancientness of Kurdish nation.

In the thirty-first issue, in the readers' column, one reader asks if it is real that Kurds are Arian and Celadet answers that Kurds are Arian and Kurdish is an Arian language. He says the territory between Diyarbekir and Khorassan was the homeland of Arian people, and they spread out from this territory. There are many Arian languages derived from the same source, like Greek, German

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[398] Kristi Haav, What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by national elites?, Budapeşt: Central European University, 2006, p.11

[399] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Zerdeşt û Rêya Zerdeşt", *Hawar* issue 26, pp.9,10
["Zerdeşt ji me ye, û îro jî di Kurdistanê de hin kurd hene kop ê bawer in. Ew jî Eyzedî ne. Ji ber ko zanayê kurdistanê ê berê Zerdeşt bû, ji bom e zanîna binyan û qeydeyên rêya Zerdeşt çak e. Ji vê zanînê medeniyeta me a kevn, bilindî û kûraahiyahişê me, dilpakiya MİLETÊ KURD xuya dibe. Ji xwe felsefe û nivisandin ango destpêka pêşketina cihanê bi heyîna nijadê me ve girêdayî ye. Cihandostî, cîhanbratî jî destxetê me ye. Navê kitêba zerdeştiyan Avesta ye. Nivîsevanê wê Zerdeşt e. Dema nivisandina Avestayê biewlwyî hêj ne hatiye zanîn. Hin nivîsevanên rojavayê dibêjin ko şeşsed sal berî Isa pêxember hatiye nivisandin. Hinekên din û zerdeştî bi xwe bawerin ko Avesta pênvhezar sal berî Isa pêxember hebû."]

and Latin. Arian languages are members of the same family. They have common features not only in their grammar but in their vocabulary as well. Then he gives some examples;

> Lêv (Kurdish), leb (Persian), lip (English), lippe (German).[400]

The list of examples goes on.

Kurdish elites traced back the origin of the Kurdish language in *Hawar*'s pages. They described the Kurdish Language as an Arian Language originally spoken by Medes. They named Kurds as the descendents of Medes. They also named Zarathustra as the first Philosopher or the knowledgeable man of the Kurds and Zoroastrianism as the Kurds' initial belief.

When constructing a national identity and laying down the foundation on which national demands make up the future of a nation, as already mentioned, it is also essential to ensure that the members of that nation know that they belong to a culture and a civilization that is distinct from other cultures and civilizations. Emphasizing the different origins of Kurds from Turks and Arabs would give an opportunity for the politicization of the masses and also for legitimizing their demands. Kurds being originally Arian and Kurdish being originally an Arian Language would distinguish it from others, namely the Turks and Arabs.

Addressing the fact that the language originally differs from the others' and emphasizing the historicity of the language aims to build loyalties with superior ones. Language is one of the objectives on which the spirit of the community is based and having one's language as a prominent one in a society brings loyalty to a speech community. That's why Kurdish elites stressed that the Kurdish language was superior to others' languages and the Kurdish Language which is their ancestors' language deserved to be loved and respected;

[400] *Hawar*, Stûna Xwendevana, *Hawar*, issue 31, pp.10-11

Kurmancî is the language of dad and grandpa
In her grave, mum groans in Kurmancî
Kurmancî one voice and the first word
Kurmancî voiceless and the last word
My dad and grey-hair mum
Call us from the blind darkness
Kurmancî is the language of dad and grandpa
In her grave, mum groans in Kurmancî[401]

In this sense, they were trying to increase the sense of pride and loyalty to the language and the nation respectively. In his article, written on Literature, Kamiran Bedirxan mentioning that Kurdish elites used to write in others' language but not in Kurdish, he stresses on the importance of writing in Kurdish which is the Kurds' ancestors language; sweet and beautiful. He mentions that they should write in a pure Kurdish and he also says Kurds should draw inspiration from Kurdish stories and songs both intellectually and emotionally.[402]

Here, recalling Herder's claims that a common national language protects the nation from outsider cultural impact, besides providing communication among the members of the nation would be a good idea. Herder believed that language was synonymous to thought, and was to be learned in a community. Since every language is unique, he reasoned that each community had its own mode of thought and the community is the sum of these modes of expression.[403] Compatible with this claim Kamiran would write the following lines, in his article;

> As it is known, thought and emotion meet on the basis of language and each language holds its thought, emotion and ways of expression inside and these are transmitted by the language (...).

[401] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Zimanê min", *Hawar*, issue 11, p.2
[„Kurmancî zimanê bav û kal e, Tirba xwe de, dê bi wê dinale, Kurmancî yek deng û pirsa pêşîn, Kurmancî bêdeng û pirsa paşîn, Sor, gewr û kesk rengê Kurdî, Bi Kurmancî tîne bi dengê Kurdî, Bavê min û dadika spîpor,Banî me dikin ji tariya kor, Kurmancî zimanê bav û kal e, Tirba xwe de, dê bi wê dinale"]
[402] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Edebiyata Welatî", *Hawar* , issue 1, p.6
[403] Ümit Özkırımlı, Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.39

> Owing to this feature of language, the thoughts and emotions of outsiders come and settle in our hearts and mind. They change our emotional shape and discolour it.[404]

In the same article, Kamiran Bedirxan, mentions that Ehmedê Xanî had led the way for writing in Kurdish and adds that it was a pity that his successors did not follow his path. He says Ehmedê Xanî, in his book which he wrote in Kurmancî, was inspired by an epic Memê Alan.[405] Kamiran goes on by saying that Ehmedê Xanî sensed the strength of Kurdmancî then and he called out to those who did not write in Kurmancî with the following lines;

> Safî şemirand vexwar durdî[406]

Ehmedê Xanî, a Kurdish poet who lived in the 17th century, is a powerful figure mentioned by Kurdish nation builders of all times; and it was the same for Kurdish intellectuals in *Hawar* as well. Kurdish elites would underline that he managed to write in Kurmancî hundreds of years ago and stress that the Kurdish language once was powerful enough to allow Ehmedê Xanî to become a great poet and to write a master-piece and it would allow them to sustain a great culture as well.

I shall recall here that Kurdish elites in the early 20th century also attached importance to Ehmedê Xanî. In 1919, Mem û Zîn, the masterpiece of Ehmedê Xanî, was published in Istanbul. In the 16th issue of Jîn, this publication was considered a big success and service for the Kurdish language and literature. In his article, Memduh Selîm Beg claims this book to be the proof of an excellent Kurdish language.[407]

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[404] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Edebiyata Welatî", *Hawar* , issue 1, p.6
["Herweqî nas e, fiqr û hîs di dora zmanî de xwe digehînin hev û her zman fiqr û hîsên xwe û awayê gotina xwe bi xwe re hildigire û ew pê re diguhêzin, û pey zmanên xwe diqevin. Bi vî awayî digel zmanî fiqr û hîsên biyaniyan jî tên diqevin nav me, di dil û hişê me de cih digirin, û rû û gonê me ên manewî diguhêrinin, di heşifinin"]
[405] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Edebiyata Welatî", *Hawar* , issue 1, p.6
[406] Left aside the pure one and drank the feculent one (Ehmedê Xanî, Mem û Zîn)
[407] Memduh Selîmbegî, "Mem û Zîn'in Basımı Dolayısıyla", *Jîn*, issue 16, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.737

Language appears as an important component in building a perception of collectivism which is independent from time and space. By means of a language dating back to old times, a common history is produced and the continuity of a nation is provided by the communication through its language which is considered to be a tie between the past and the future of said nation. Celadet Bedirxan, who also gave big importance to Xanî would write the following lines in *Hawar*;

> If Hawar laid the foundation of our language, Ehmedê Xanî had created its soul. And conscious kurdishness started with Ehmedê Xanî. [408]

With these lines, he dates the starting point of '*conscious kurdishness'* backs to Ehmedê Xanî namely the seventeenth century. In order to understand the point of nationalist intellectuals, one shall look at their capacity to express and combine a trustworthy national identity. This includes a native ability, not simply to speak the language of the community, but to re-live their ancestral myths;

Ehmedê Xanî was one of the ancestral myths who Kurdish elites were determined not to allow to be forgotten.

4. National Unity through the Unity of Language

Language plays an essential role in the process of reclaiming one's true nature. Therefore, a common language was both the proof for the existence of a nation and the symbol of national unity. The *Hawar* cadre after the defeat of armed struggles knew that the Kurdish nation had not clamped together based on a common identity. From the history of the Kurds, they had deduced

[408] *Hawar*, Heyîneke Yeqsalî, *Hawar* issue 20, p.1-3
["Heqe Hawarê hîmî zmanê me danîye Xanî giyanê wî afirandi bû. Ji xwe qurdanîya bîrewer bi Xanî re dest pê diqe."]

that the biggest problem of Kurds was that they had never united and fought together[409]. Therefore, they were seeking to build that common identity and unite them through this identity. As it will be seen in the next chapter, unity of the nation is one of the main emphasis' that appears on *Hawar*'s pages. Intellectuals of the time frequently called for the Kurdish people to unite. The most effective element that they would use to call for this unity would be the Kurdish language which would not be questioned by the target masses. Being aware of this, Celadet was insistently stressing that national unity would come via the unity of language; in the third issue, in the part that is written in the Arabic Alphabet, there is a letter that came from a reader called Hamîd Ferec in which he congratulates Celadet Bedirxan for bringing out the journal, emphasising the importance of the unity of Kurds. Celadet in his article mentions this letter of congratulations, and he says Hamîd Ferec is right to want us to work on the unity of the Kurdish language. Celadet says that

> (...)The unity of our nation is up to the unity of the Kurdish language because the unity of the nations starts with the unity of the language. Bismarck built the unity of Germany on the base of the unity of German language. This unity had been provided by Luther.[410]
>
> Kurds shall also unite by the unity of the language. (...)

Again in the tenth issue, Celadet, gives a response to a letter again, saying that 'The Unification of the Kurdish Nation will come into existence with a unified language'[411]

In the 16th issue another writer of *Hawar*, Hevindê Sorî calls for that unification saying that;

> In this age that all the peoples have woken up; they kill and are being killed for their independency, we also have to be concerned, be ashamed and struggle for our unity.
>
> You know that the first and maybe the biggest step in being united is the unity of language. Without the unity of the dialects and language, ethnic unity does not take place. Just like in

[409] I will deal with this issue in the next chapter.

[410] Celadet Bedirxan, "Bi hinceta Pîroznameyê", *Hawar* issue3, Arabic Script part, p.4
["Ji bona yekbûna miletê me welî jî diviyabû. Ji ber ku yekbûna miletan bi yekîtiya zimanî dest pê dike. (Bîsmark) yekbûna Almanyayê li ser yekîtiya zimanê Almanî danî bû. Vê yekitiyê (Lûter) jê re çêkirî û pêk anîbû."]

[411] Xweyiyê *Hawar*ê, "Li ser Yekîtiya Ziman", *Hawar* issue10, in Arabic Script part, p.6

> Germany, in Italy and in other states, unless the unity among the dialects occurred, the unity of the nation did not exist.
> You also know that the target of this journal is to make the dialects closer to each other and to bring a united Kurdish language into being.[412]

Kurdish intellectuals believed that if the Kurds did not understand each other via a united and promoted language, they would not feel solidarity amongst each other. A united language would bring the sense of solidarity among Kurds and on the basis of this solidarity the common national identity would be built. In issue 23, Lacê Henê replies to Hevindê Sorî's letter by saying that;

> If the intellectuals of a nation cannot hold each other's hand and help each other through their words and writing they cannot help in any other subject either. Why?
> This is because the unity of a nation is up to a united language and a mono-writing system of that language. Without this nothing can be solved.[413]

This emphasis on the importance of a united language seems to be the outcome of the concern that a language which has a lot of varieties would not help national unity. This concern brings a more organized language movement herewith. There lies the 'holy' mission which *Hawar* had undertaken. In order to unite the nation they believed that they should first unite the language. In the following part I will try to display the language movement which the Hawar cadre embarked upon in order to unite the nation through a united language.

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[412] Hevindê Sorî, "Le Bo Yekîtiya Zimanê Kurdî", *Hawar* issue 16, pp.1,2
["Welem a'sre ke hemû kewmêq çawî qirdiwetewe, we wuşyar buwetewe web o yeqyetiy xoy hewl dedat we şew u roj le pênawî yeqyetî xoya dequjêt, debê êmeş mişûrî xoman bixoyn we bigeyne firyay xoman. We bo yeqyetî xoman têbiqoşîn. We hemûtan dezanin payey yeqemin beşqû payey here gewrey " yeqyetî " yeqyetî zimane. We be bê yeqyetî ziman we şiwe yeqyetî kewmî pêq nayêt. We le Elemanya, we Italya we hiqûmetanî diqe yeqyetî peq nehat, heta şiweganyan nebûwe yeq, we heta şiweyêqi hemwayî peyda nebû le nawyana. We hem3uutan dezanin armancî here gewrwy em qvora xoşewiste peyde qirdini yeqyetîye le naw lehceqanî qurdî we nezipqirdinewey şiweqani qurdî ye"]
[413] Lacê Henê, "Le Bo Yekîtiya Zimanê Kurdî 5", *Hawar* issue 23, in Arabic Script part, pp.7-8
["Eger xwenda û zanaya miletekî bi vî awayê nikaribin bi qise û niv3ısa xwe yanê milê destê hev din bigrin û arîkariya xwe tan bikin, bê şubhe ne mimkin e tiştekî dinda jî destinê hev bigrin webe kêfkir û ye …… bibin. Çira? Çunkî nişane ye kitêba miletekî û yekbûna komeleyekî hebûn û heyiya zimanekî – yekî yanê al-el aqıl li nivisanê"]

5. A Planned Language Movement

The language movement carried out by the Hawar cadre should be read with the previous parts of this chapter because their attempt to promote the Kurdish Language is the outcome of their concern of constructing a common identity by uniting the language. They believed that in order to legitimize their nationalistic demands and to create a social sphere of resistance, they had to postulate the Kurds as a separate distinct group through a highly promoted language. They made their chart, which they hoped would lead to a new identity based on a shared culture and language and took action in this direction.

Constructing a language as the medium of communication among speakers of different varieties of this language was one of the main concerns of Kurdish elites since the very beginning of the twentieth century. The *Hawar* cadre, just like their predecessors who wrote in *Roj-î Kurd*, *Hetaw-î Kurd*, *Jîn* and other publications published before them, attempted to construct a united language in order to awaken the sense of a common identity, followed by national unity. They knew that a language of the oppressed could become a language of resistance if provided with the means of empowerment. This time the attempt at language reform was more planned in contrast to those before.

In order to reach that goal, the requirements that a language has to meet are two main aspects of language planning; corpus planning and status planning. Corpus planning is concerned with the internal structure of the language; status planning refers to all efforts undertaken to change the use and function of a language (or language varieties) within a given society.[414]

The *Hawar* cadre first of all would fall back upon the typical activities of corpus planning

[414] Andrea A. Deumert," Language Planning and Policy", in Introducing Sociolinguistics, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 200 p. 384

including devising a writing system for a spoken language, orthography in parallel with the initiating of spelling reforms, coining new terms and publishing grammar books.

A central aspect of corpus planning is language standardization**,** which can be understood as the creation and establishment of a uniform linguistic norm.

Status planning, which refers to the allocation of new functions to a language (such as using the language as medium of instruction or as an official language), affects the role a language plays within a given society.[415]

Although these two can theoretically be taken separately, in reality corpus planning and status planning are never exclusively one or the other. Standardization implies change in the language status, even if it does not become an official language, and status planning usually includes some form of corpus planning (vocabulary enrichment, standardization, etc.).[416] Dealing with new language functions (status planning) often requires changes in the linguistic system (corpus planning) such as the development of new styles and lexical items.

Among the aspects of language planning I shall deal with corpus planning whose central aspect is language standardization. As I have indicated, status planning, which refers to the allocation of new functions to a language (such as using the language as medium of instruction or as an official language) needs a more institutional attempt which in this case was quite impossible since attempts done by the Hawar cadre were individual attempts carried out by a group of intellectuals. However, one should keep in mind that these attempts also involved efforts undertaken to change the use and function of Kurdish within Kurdish society. The call for the use

[415] Andrea A. Deumert, "Language Planning and Policy", in Introducing Sociolinguistics, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 200 p. 385

[416] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by nationalist elites?* M.A Thesis, Submitted to Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2006, p.3

of Kurdish as the medium of written language can be understood in this way.

From the very beginning of publishing *Hawar*, Celadet Bedirxan would mention that, “Teaching and spreading the Kurdish alphabet among Kurds, the classification of Kurdish linguistics, spreading the language among the society and publishing books on the subject” were his main concerns. He would then put his ideas into practice.

As I already mentioned in the first chapter, Einar Haugen (1996) provides a model of how standard languages emerged, which is highly accepted. First, an agreed-upon piece of dialect continuum had to be chosen as the starting point for the developing the standard language (selection of a norm). Secondly, this piece was standardized through grammars, dictionaries and translations of the Bible and world literature (codification of form). Thirdly, the newly standardized language was used in an increasing number of social contexts (elaboration of function). Lastly, most of the population who identified or were identified with the nation for whom the standard language was developed had to accept it (acceptance by the community).[417]

According to Haugen, language planning begins with the possibility of choosing between a numbers of linguistic alternatives which refers to the selection form. To choose certain linguistic forms or language varieties over others, and promote them as being 'the norm', is the basis of most language-planning activities. There will be little difficulty where everyone speaks virtually alike, a situation rarely found.

Elsewhere it may be necessary to make some decisions. To choose any one vernacular as a norm means to favour the group of people speaking that variety. It gives them prestige as norm-bearers and a head start in the race for power and position. If a group of recognized elites already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail. However where there are

[417] Einar Haugen, “Dialect, Language, Nation”, *in American Antropologist*, 68 / 1966, p. 922-935

socially coordinated groups of people within the community, usually distributed regionally or tribally, the choice of any one of them over the others will meet with resistance from the rest. This resistance is likely to be stronger, the greater the language distance within the group. Where this is impossible, it may be necessary to resort to the construction of a new standard. To some extent this has happened naturally in the rise of traditional norms; it has been the aim of many language reformers to duplicate the effect in new ones. For related dialects, one can apply principles of linguistic reconstruction to make a hypothetical mother tongue for them all. Alternatively, one can be guided by some actual or supposed mother tongue, which exists in older, traditional writings. On the other hand, one can combine those forms that have the widest usage, in the hope that they will most easily win general acceptance.[418]

This issue is basically related to the politics of dialects as well. Having one's dialect as a main literary idiom means great prestige of a speech community itself. Struggles between the vernaculars brought with itself the 'winners' and 'losers' of the competition,[419] 'Winners' being the dialects whom were able to establish a literary form before the others would. According to Gellner, the rapid development of vernaculars into written languages is due to the nature of the modern state that demands existence of a high culture.[420] Nevertheless, before standardization could actually start there is the need to pick one amongst several spoken varieties that becomes the written medium. Peter Burke has called this period in European language history a stage when vernaculars were in competition and the struggle was for becoming the standard.[421]

In the Kurdish case, the situation is a bit different from other nations' practices; since there was

[418] Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation", in *American Antropologist,* 68 / 1966, p. 922-935
[419] Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997, p.74
[420] Joshua A. Fishman, *The Sociology of Language*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972, p.19
[421] Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europ,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p.61

not a unique recognized elite with a characteristic vernacular already existing, one discovers that from the very beginning of the 20th century two forms of standard written Kurdish appeared. During the period beginning with the publication of the first newspaper *Kurdistan* in 1898, until 1918, Kurdish appeared in print, with few exceptions, only in the Ottoman Empire.[422] As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the members of Bedirxanî family, who were Kurmancî speakers, published the newspaper Kurdistan and it was almost entirely in Kurmancî. *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* and the two journals *Roj-î Kurd* and *Hetaw-î Kurd*, published by political organizations were bidialect; Kurmancî and Soranî. This is because the leading cadre was formed from elites who belong to different regional identities and dialects. This was the same for the journal *Jîn*. On the other hand, the periodical *Bang-î Kurd*, published in Baghdad in 1914, was all in the Soranî dialect, which was the dialect of the publishers.[423] Hassanpour, comments on this issue as; "The rule was, therefore, for everyone to publish in one's own dialect."

One of the standard forms of Kurdish was a well-established literary standard, which is based on the Soranî dialect of the southern parts of Kurdistan, as spoken in the city of Sulaimaniya.[424] First literary activities in the dialect included poetry published in the l9th Century, while the first periodicals appeared at the turn of the century. Standardization was encouraged by the British administration. It is written in a modified form of the Arab-Persian alphabet.

Tracing the attempts of the *Hawar* cadre in the name of the standardization of the language, one will see it is much more an attempt at the standardization of the Kurmancî dialect. In order to have a better understanding of the process mentioned, this attempt should be displayed.

[422] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil, 1918-1985,* İstanbul: Avesta yayınları, p.156
[423] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil, 1918-1985,* İstanbul: Avesta yayınları, p.156
[424] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyetçilik ve Dil, 1918-1985, İstanbul*: Avesta yayınları, p.156

Hawar's choice of dialects / sub-dialects

From the beginning of the publishing adventure of *Hawar*, Bedirxan released mostly his work - lexicalization, vocabulary enrichment, standardization of the grammar- in Kurmancî dialect. Actually, the Kurdish used as the medium of the periodical was based on the Kurmancî dialect. The leading pens who wrote in *Hawar* like Kamiran Bedirxan, Osman Sebrî, Cegerxwîn, Nureddîn Ûsiv and so on wrote in Kurmancî. Hevindê Sorî was the only contributor to *Hawar* who regularly wrote his articles in Soranî. There were also others who rarely contributed to the journal but wrote in Soranî like Pîrod. Celadet Bedirxan himself, except a very few prose, wrote in the Kurmancî dialect.

In light of this information, one can 'only' see the standardization attempts for the Kurmancî dialect on *Hawar*'s pages, since there are no blazing explanations about other dialects; grammatical rules, vocabulary etc. As mentioned previously, at the same time, the Soranî dialect was going through a different period of standardization. However, this does not mean that the idea of uniting the dialects had not appeared on *Hawar's* pages. Displaying these discussions would be a good starting point;

On the 10th issue in the Arabic script part, Pîrot mentions the problem that Kurds are divided into two main regions and they do not understand each other because of the different dialects. He underlines that this causes misunderstandings, which prevent unity. He says that the duty of Kurdish readers is to try to unite the dialects of Kurdish and he thinks *Hawar* can help this purpose the best;

> Without a doubt, there are thousands of words in the Kurdish language that have the same meaning in all the dialects. With these common words, articles can be written. Beside this, some words from different dialects should be used in those articles so that people from different dialects learn them. Writing a dictionary is very useful. More importantly, the

> common words which exist in all dialects and do not belong to only one should be written.[425]

He expresses his hope that *Hawar* shall move in that direction and make a common dialect of the Kurdish language so that Kurds would understand each other and do not have to use a foreign language to communicate.

In issue 16, an article, which seems to be one of the most important pieces, appears on *Hawar*'s pages concerning the unity of the languages;[426] Hevindê Sorî's article, which is written in Soranî, is published in both dialects. At the beginning, he calls to Kurdish youth, mentioning that the reason for Kurds' misery and the loss of their independency is that they do not unite.

> You know that the target of this journal is to make the dialects closer to each other and to bring a united language into being.
> From now on, this aim is not only the aim of the journal but of all us. Since we will all benefit from this aim. Therefore, we want those people who are concern about this nation and this aim, to rise up this nation to answer following questions;
> 1-How does the Kurdish language become a purified language?
> 2-How do the dialects (zar) of the Kurdish language become closer and how does a dialect that

[425] Pîrot, "Eksî Sedayî Hawar", *Hawar* İssue 10, Arabic Script ;Part, p.1-3
["Bêguman le zimanî Kurdî da hezaran kelimey wa hey eke le hemû lehcekan da maneyan yek û ferqiyan nşye. Heta bitwanirêt meqalat bew kelimane binûsirêt ke muşterike û cigelewêş mesela hendî kelimey lehcey Babanî têbixirêt ke mumkin bêt Soran û Botan be qerîne têbigen û dîsan hendî kelimey way Kurdistanî şimalî be kelk bihunrêt ke Kurdî cenûb bitiwanin be qerîne le manakey halî bibin. Nûsînî ferhengoke zor kelk e, belam eger manekey be kelîmat muşterike bınûsirêt îstifadey gelê ziyatir lê ekirêt."]

[426] Hevindê Sorî, "Le Bo Yekîtiya Zimanê Kurdî", *Hawar* issue 16, pp.1,2
["We hemûtan dezanin armanci here gewrey em qvoare xoşewiste peyda qirdini yeqyetîye le naw lehceqani qurdî we nezip qirdinewey .siweqani qurdî ye. Êsla ew armance qe qovar heyeti, armancêqi taybetî niye. Besqû hemwayiye, we i'iakey beye le gel hemû qurdêq we hemû qurdperistêq.
1 Çilon zimani qurdî sal we paq deqrêt? 2Çilon sîwe we lehceciya ciyaqani Qurdistan le yeq nezîq deqrêt we îş-qî weha deqrêt qe hemû qurdeqan le lehcey yeqtirî têhigen? 3- Çilon zimani qurdî pp.sdeqewêt we be ci corêq serdeqiwêt ?
Pêşrewi cewab danewe:
"l-Nabê cewabi her sô pirsiyareqe le lapereyêq ziyatir bê le lapereqani (Hawar).
2-Debê cewabeqan be mireqeb binàsrêt we rasiewxo bo xêwi Hawar binêrrêt.
3-Debê heta yeqi Gulan 1933 cewabi pirsiyarequn hinnêrêt. We çi cewa bi kebûl naqrét qe le yeqi Gulan direngtir be idarexane degat.
4-i nca xêwi Hawar yeqe yeqe cewa beqan le Hawar bilaw deqatewe."]

makes people understand each other better, form?

3-How does the Kurdish language improve and succeed?

How to reply;

1-The answer for all three questions must not be longer than a page of Hawar.

2-The answer must be written in ink and must be sent to Hawar's owner.

3-The answer must be sent until May.

4-Then the owner of the journal will publish all the answers.

Then in issue 22, the first reply comes to Hevind's call from Elî Seydo. He lines up his suggestions as;

> The Kurdish language will be promoted by choosing words from all the dialects. These chosen words should be replaced by the words transmitted from other languages like Turkish and Arabic.
>
> First of all we have to choose one dialect as the medium of the written language then we have to transmit words from other dialects.[427]

Again in issue 22, Osman Sebrî suggests a more moderate way; he suggests the foundation of a scholarly community whose members are from different regions. He says, "this community should first prepare a great dictionary. Then, they should publish all the old and modern pieces in all dialects of Kurdish. Then they should deal with the unity of the Kurdish language". He goes on by saying that with this way of working, in ten years time, the unity of a written language will be provided and the spoken form of the language will come closer.[428]

Cegerxwîn was clearly more in favour of advocating complete reform;

> 1-A group of wise Kurds, who know all dialects of Kurdish, from all parts of Kurdistan should come together.

[427] Elî Seydoyê Gewrî, "Sehitî, Le bo zimanê kurdî 2", *Hawar* issue 22, p.1
["1-Zimanê qurdî bi bijartina pirsêb qurdî ji hemû zaran, û bi xistina wan li şûna pirsên biyanî qo qetine nav zimanê me (tirqî û erebî) 2- Berî her tiştî divêt em zareqî jib o xwendin û nivîsandinê bibijêrin, piştre pirsên zarên din bêxîn nav wî zarî."]

[428] Osman Sebrî, "Sehitî Le bo Zimanî Kurdî-3", *Hawar*, issue 22, pp.1,2

> 2-A soft, high, cute dialect (şêwe) which is spoken by the majority of Kurds should be chosen. Others should be killed. If there are some words needed, thay can be stolen from the killed dialects.
>
> Why? If we do that only 2 million Kurds will suffer. If we make a dialect (şêwe) from all of them 9-10 millions of Kurds suffer.
>
> This is what all other nations have done, they have chosen one of the 'cute' dialects and killed the others.[429]

As mentioned previously, in the Kurdish case where there are socially coordinated groups of people within the community, usually distributed regionally or tribally, the choice of any dialect will meet with resistance from the rest. Some Kurdish elites such as Pîrod, being aware of this or not willing for this to happen, were in favour of the construction of a new standard which is expressed in their suggestions as making a common dialect, and others like Elî Seydoyê Gewrî would suggest to choose one dialect as the medium for the written language. Some of them were even in favour of choosing one dialect at the expense of getting rid of the others.

However, what matters most is what happened; did one of these ideas come into existence?

Actually, under those conditions, the Kurds were divided into four main parts and the Kurdish community in each part could not reach the other's parts, additionally, none of them had sovereignty over the others, there was no overall authority over all Kurds. Therefore, what happened was that each of the two main dialects of Kurdish passed through its own different process of standardization. Soranî was being promoted in Southern Kurdistan and on the other hand, Kurdish elites in Syria were contributing to the promotion of Kurmancî dialect.[430]

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[429] Cegerxwîn, "Sehitî Le bo Zimanî Kurdî-4", *Hawar*, issue 23, in arabic script part, p.6
["1- Gereke civatek ji çarkenarên Kurdistanê çê bibe seyda û zana û çend go bi lehçeyên Kurdistanê teva zanin tê de kom bibin. 2- Şêwekî sivik û bilind û şêrîn ko pirên kurdan pê mijûl dibin bigirin ên din tevan bikujin eger pirsek ji wî ê bijartî kêm bî em Karin ji şêwên kuştî bidizin.
Çiman... go em weha bikin dijwarî digihê du milyon kurd lê eger em şewakî ji tevan çêkin hinga dijwarî digihê neh deh milyon Kurd. Çawan go miletan hemiyan weha kiriye ynî şêwakî pir şêrîn girtine ên din kuştine."]

[430] Here, one shall say that meanwhile in the USSR, studies on Kurdish Language were being carried and there in Soviet Union Kurmancî was also chosen as the medium dialect.

Bedirxan's attitude to dialects / sub-dialects;

Reading throughout *Hawar*, one sees that Celadet did not write a detailed article about the dialects and the sub-dialects of the Kurdish Language. The explanations that he gives regarding the Kurdish language except for general rules which apply to all the dialects and some common features of all or some of the dialects, demonstrate that his main concern or his focal point was on the Kurmancî dialect. That's why he titled his study on grammar as the "The Basis of Kurdmancî Grammar".[431]

However, not focusing on the other dialects does not mean that he looks down on them. In some articles he mentions that the Kurdish Language has two main dialects which are; the North Dialect and the central dialect namely, the Upper Homeland Kurdish and the Lower Homeland Kurdish.[432]

His most detailed article on Kurdish Dialects is the one in which he publishes Usman Efendî's Mewlûd[433] which is the only piece written about the Dumilî dialect. After giving the story of this Mewlûd, Bedirxan starts to give information about the Kurdish language and the Dumilî dialect. In this article he makes a comparison between Kurmancî and Dumilî;

> There are three dialects (zar) of the Kurdish language (ziman); The upper homeland's dialect, The lower Homeland's dialect and Dumilî. By upper homeland dialect we mean Kurdmancî and although it has some differences among sub-dialects (zarava), it is a proper unified form. But the lower homeland's dialect is not so. It is divided into some sub-dialects which differ from each other in some sense; like Baba Kurdî and Lorî. The Dumilî dialect: this is the dialect which is spoken by Dumilî Kurds or Zazas. They live in the western part of upper homeland. They mostly live with Kurdmancs and most of them also speak Kurdmancî. As I have researched, there are also sub-dialects in Dumilî as well. These are mainly divided into two parts. There are some visible

[431] "Bingehên Gramêra Kurdmancî"
[432] *Hawar*, "Bo Lawanî Kurd Le Iraqa", *Hawar*, issue 24, p. 9
[433] An Islamic poetic form praising prophet Mohamed.

differences among them. In a phonological sense; in Sêwrek's Dumilî there is the sound of 'j' which is not seen in Palo and some other places. 'j' is replaced with 'c' and 'z'. That is why the Dumilî are called Zaza and Dumilîs from Palo and Maden are more Zaza than those from Sêwrek. In this dialect, the sound of 'v' is seen a lot. But in some words 'v' changes into 'w'. Like, 'şev' and 'av' in Kurdmancî changes into 'şew' and 'aw' in Dumilî.

The Dumilî dialect is the closest one to Kurdmancî. In this dialect just like in Kurdmancî there are two groups of pronouns. So in this dialect transitive and intransitive verbs are classified differently.

Only in the subject of Gender, Dumilî has lost some in Palo. Di Swêrek sub-dialect has its male and female words. In some regions Dumilî has more gendered form than Kurdmancî. Gender is also seen in verbs.[434]

In Celadet's articles, one senses that he appreciated other dialects as well. He once published information, as good news, that a Kurdish journal was published in Baghdad. The writer praises the journal on being precious and goes on by criticizing the alphabet that is used. He says the journal was not written in the Kurdish alphabet but in the Arabic one. He says it is hard to understand the South dialect and it is even harder when it is written in the Arabic Alphabet.[435]

On the 24th issue, he likens *Hawar* to a field and he says all the seeds should be sown in this field. Two main seeds are the North Dialect and the central dialect namely, the upper Homeland Kurdish and the lower homeland Kurdish. He goes on by saying that up to the sixteenth issue, *Hawar* came out in two dialects, then the Soran Kurds (baba Kurdî) had fallen back. He warns Kurdish youth living in the south as "This is not only our struggle, this is for our future. Our duty is to plant the seeds in the field. (…)You should write for the unity of Kurdish language and future generation."[436] This metaphore is quite meaningful in order to understand how Celadet Bedirxan approached the different dialects of Kurdish. Although he only worked to set down the

[434] Celadet Bedirxan, "Zarê Dumilî û Mewlûda Osman Efendî", *Hawar*, issue 23, In Arabic Script Part, pp.1-4
[435] "Neşreyên Kurdî, Gelawêj", *Hawar* issue 27, p.8
[436] *Hawar*, "Bo Lawanî Kurd Le Iraqa", *Hawar*, issue 24, p. 9

grammatical rules for the Kurmancî dialect he also respected other dialects, the only quote from him that could be viewed as negative was his saying in his article on the Dumilî dialect that the Soranî dialect was divided into some other sub-dialect and was not as concrete as the Kurmancî one.

Even this comment would not lead us to say that Celadet Bedirxan tried to make the Kurmancî dialect superior to the other dialects, nor had he tried to announce that Kurmancî is the only dialect of Kurdish, which could be the national language. Neither did he attempt to create a mixture of dialects to create a national language since, with the exception of borrowing words from other dialects, he did not import grammatical phrases from other dialects; at least he does not mention that. Reading through the lines, which appeared on the Grammar Parts published in *Hawar*, one does not come across that Celadet underlines common/similar or different phrases or grammatical features of other dialects with Kurmancî except for the few things mentioned above.[437] Neither does he say that in order to make dialects closer we had better use some sort of common grammatical features. It seems like he did not want to interfere with the process in which two forms of standard Kurdish appeared. He welcomed every step taken for the sake of the promotion of the Kurdish language in whatever dialect it is.

Another important thing is that in the practice of *Roj-î Kurd* and *Jîn* a bi-dialect attitude had already appeared and the idea that all the dialects should show up may have seemed quite natural to Celadet. We shall recall some lines from Xelîl Xeyalî where he mentioned some people saying that the different dialects make a barrier for the Kurdish language to have a united form and he

[437] In the grammar parts I also noticed a small example of comparing Kurmancî dialect with Dumilî dialect.;
[“Ji xwe di şikile " ek-û-din" de mana her bejeye eşkere ye.
Bi tene te de "yek" bûye "ek". Herçî "hev-û-din" gelek heye
ko "hev" jî bi mana "yek" e. Bediro di zarekî kurdî, di zare dumilî de ji "yek" re "jew" an "yew" dibejin.“]
Celadet Elî Bedirxan, Bingehên Gramêra Kurdmancî 12, *Hawar*, issue 42, p.9

claimed that the diversity of the dialects is not an obstacle; on the contrary, it is a gift since it supplies various vocabularies to the language.[438]

Celadet may have also believed that one day the two dialects would meet. One thing, which is obvious, was that he believed that they could unite the Kurdish people as a nation through a promoted language. Moreover, the dialect that he grounded the Kurdish language in was Kurmancî.

The absence of pieces written in the Dumilî dialect remains as a matter of question and I am not quite sure how to explain this, perhaps it was the fact that there were not many Dumilî speakers around him. It seems that Celadet Bedirxan relied on the dialect, which he knew the best, and preferred to carry on his studies with this dialect, namely Kurmancî. While doing that he encouraged Soranî speakers to contribute to the journal, however there is no such call to Dumilî speakers.

Speaking about the selection and the codification phases of the standardization process, which laws led by Kurdish elites during the publication period of *Hawar* requires mentioning the sub-dialect issue as well. Some scholars like Jemal Nebez[439], Martin Van Bruinessen[440] claims that Standard Kurmancî for which Celadet Bedirxan set the basic rules was built on the Cizre Dialect. In line with them, Yaron Matros and Gertrud Reershemius in their dissertation claim that, "The Bedirxan variety of Kurdish standard language is based on the Kurmancî dialect as spoken in the

[438] Xelîl Xeyalî with pen name, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, "Kurdçeye Dair I", *Jîn*, issue 14, in reprint by M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, pp.606-609

[439] Jemal Nebez, *The Kurdish Language From Oral Tradition to Written Language,* Lecture been given by Jemal Nebez on 28 November 1993 in Paris at the Conference of "The Kurdish language toward the year 2000". The conference been organized by Sorbonne University and the Kurdish Institute in Paris. Available at: http://www.rojavatv.org.uk/Kurdish_Language.pdf (15.09.2012)

[440] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Ehmedî Xanî's Mem û Zîn and its Role in the Emergence of Kurdish National Awareness", in *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, edited by Abbas Vali, USA: Mazda Publishers, 1980, p.52

districts of Cizre and Hakkari". Although there is now still a common belief that it is true that the standard Kurmancî is based on the Botan sub-dialect on the whole, there are also some others who reject this claim.

Trying to find an answer to these claims, the first person to turn to would be Celadet himself. Being aware of the components of codification such as grammatication (deciding on the rules/norms of grammar) and lexicalization (identifying the vocabulary),[441] one can try to find out if Celadet himself gave an answer to those claims.

Standardizing the Language through the Grammar

One of the aspects of the language-planning process is the normative formulation of the rules of grammar. In other words, "one decides which forms will belong to the new standard, thus reducing syntactic and morphological variation, this process is called *grammatication"***.**[442]

Celadet knew that in order to consider the Kurdish nation as a distinct one to others and to claim its right, he had to legitimize its existence both in the eyes of Kurds themselves and others as well; building a concrete, standardized language which responds to all the requirements of the age would be the first step. Only a promoted language would fulfil the task of becoming a national language, this promoted language had to be written, standardized and adaptable to the needs of technological and social advancement.

Celadet believed that the first thing that he had to do was to define the language through grammatical rules. Accordingly, in the first issue Celadet after stating one of his targets as the promotion of a common language, he would say;

[441] Einar Haugen, "Language planning": in: U. Ammon / N. Dittmer / J.K. Mattheier (eds) Sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft. vol I., Berlin / New York: de Gruyter: 1987 626-637.

[442] Andrea A. Deumert, *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 200 p.387

> I as a Kurd and Kurmancî speaker, I know my language very well and I have compared it with seven-eight other languages and with a detailed survey I have worked out its rules.[443]

He gives clues that he had already started to work on Kurmancî grammar. Hinting at the outsiders' work, which had been done before him,[444] he says he could introduce Kurmancî better than the outsiders did. In the first issue, he states that his work is on the Kurmancî dialect not on the Kurdish Language as a whole. In addition, when he publishes his work he entitled it as 'The Basis of Kurmancî Grammar'.

From the very beginning, it is obvious that Celadet has put some grammatical rules into practice since his articles were coherent in a grammatical sense, however, he starts publishing his work on Kurmancî grammar, which he lays out the general rules, in issue sixteen and at first it was in French. He goes on publishing his work in French in the issues 17, 18, 25 and 26. On Bedirxan's publishing Grammar first in French, Salih Akın comments that there could be two reasons for it. First; Celadet was in touch with orientalists like R. Lescot, P. Rondot and next; French was a dominant, medium language at that time and it would lead outsiders to learn Kurmancî as well.[445]On the other hand, Celadet may have wanted to legitimize the language in the eyes of outsiders at first or he may have wanted to make Kurds get ready to meet the rules.

Later from the 27th issue up to 54th issue Celadet publishes his work in Kurdish as well. In issue twenty-seven, he gives some explanations about publishing grammar;

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[443] "Armanc, Awayê Xebat û Nivîsandina *Hawar*ê", *Hawar*, issue1, p.p.1,2
["Ez qo qurd û qurdmac ziman im û zimanê xwe rind dizanim min ew bi heft heşt zmanên din danîye ber hev, qitqitên wi hûrhûnandine ; qeydeyên wî ji hev derêxistine."]

[444] It is widely known that Celadet's work on Kurmancî dialect was not the first one, before him there were some orientalists' works like the one done by Italian Garzonî titled as "Gramatica e Vocabolario della Lingua Kurda". Many researches claim that it was not a proper work on the whole language, but just a dialectological one.

[445] Salih Akın, the prologue for the edition of Celadet's Grammar book. Celadet Alî Bedirxan, Bingehên Gramêra Kurdmancî, Istanbul: Avesta Basın Yayım, 2010, p.8

> In the first issues I have spread our alphabet and now I will spread our Grammar. This is a new step for the Kurdmancî writing system. There are three basic elements of a language; the Alphabet, Grammar and a Dictionary. We have spread the alphabet and now we dispel the grammar. We hope the dictionary will come soon.
> (...)in short grammar is all the rules needed to read and write correctly. These rules come out of the language. Everybody speaks his-her mother tongue correctly/accordingly rules but unconsciously. Linguists looking into those rules analyze them. The total of these rules is the grammar itself.[446]

In the same issue, in the prologue of the grammar part he again defines grammar as "the sum of the rules of the language which help to speak and write correctly."

Celadet Bedirxan could not publish all the work he did on Kurmancî Grammar, however after his death his co-worker Roger Lescot publishes the part that Celadet spread through *Hawar*'s pages and the subjects on which they had worked together, but did not appear on *Hawar*'s pages. In the prologue of this work Roger Lescot reports the following which I think is very important in order to comment on whether Celadet's variety of standard Kurdish is based on the Cizîre dialect or not;

> Without doubt, it should be mentioned that this book, unlike those books which were written by linguists of eastern languages, is introduced as the natural/normal grammar of a language; it is not a survey of dialectology. Parallel to Celadet's leading idea, this work's aim was the leaving behind of all kinds of regionalism and claims of innovations in favour of determining the best and the most correct usage of Kurmancî.[447]

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[446] Celadet Bedirxan [with the pen-name pen-name "Xwediyê *Hawar*ê"], "Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê", *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5
["Di Hawara pêşîn de min elfabiya xwe belav kiri bû. Di vê hejmarê de ezê dest bi belavkirina gramêra xwe bikim. Ev di zmanê Kurdmancî a nivîskî de gaveke nû ye. Ji xwe hîmê zmanekî li ser se hêmanên bingehîn sekiniye : elfabê, gramêr û ferheng. Me elfabê helav kir, îro ji dest bi elavkirina gramêrê dikin, ko Xwedê hez kir ferheng jî li pey e. Bi kurtî gramêr tevayiya qeydeyên rastaxaftin û rastnivîsandina zmên e. Ev qeyde bi xwe ji zmên têne der. Belê herkes bi zmanê xwe ê mader bêî ko bide eqlê xwe rast daxêve. Ev rastî bi hin qeydan tête pê û mirov dema xeberdanê de bêî ko bizane bi wan ve diçe. Gramêrzan li van qeydan hûr dibin van ji hev derdixînin û diseiiifiniii. Tevayiya van qeydan gramêr bi xwe ye."]
[447] Emîr Celadet Bedir Xan, Roger Lescot, Kürtçe Dilbilgisi (Kurmancî), Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 2004, p.11

He introduces the methodology of their work as both descriptive and prescriptive;

> In this sense, our method was to determine the linguistic phenomenons as they exist in sub-dialects which we were in touch with (the sub-dialects which mostly exist in Turkey Kurdistan, and less in Iraqi even less in Iranian Kurdistan) and to record their most common ways of usage and eventually to embody the most distinctive features or the exceptions of those dialects. We derived whole rules out of all these experiences.
> (…)
> During our research on the language we would observe illiterate Kurds reacting to our intentional linguistic mistakes and we would also discuss linguistic issues with gathered intellectuals nightlong.

Now, it is Celadet's turn to answer the claims that his periodicals had come out via Botan Dialect. Reading throughout *Hawar* and *Ronahî*, one come across some pages devoted to different sub-dialects. Each time Celadet explains that he publishes those pieces without any redaction in order to make readers be aware and know about different dialects.[448]

In an article of him, titled Zarava[449]1, Zaravayê Cizirê (Cizre Dialect), Celadet starts with a definition of language, dialect and sub-dialect;

> Languages generally consist of dialects; there sometimes occur more than one dialect of the same language. Those dialects are so different that their grammars quite differ. Anyway, they are recognized as the dialects of one language just like our language's dialects. (…) Dialects also consist of sub-dialects, which never differ from each other in a wide manner. They only differ in words / phrases and pronunciation.[450]

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[448] Some examples of this attitude of him are;
M. Ehmed Botî, Hilbîna Çiran, *Hawar*, issue 43, p.3,
Ehmedê Zeydan; A short story. Bedirxan says that the story was told him by a village man and he wrote it ithout any change. He says it is told with sub-dialect of Hevrikan. *Hawar*, issue 26, p.5
[449] He uses the word 'zarava' for 'sub-dialect' in many of his aritcles.
[450] "Zaravayê Cizirê", Ronahî, ,issue 20, p.14
["Ziman bi gelemperî bi zaran lêk vedibin. Di yek zimanî de yek caran du sê zar pêde dibin. Ev zar carina ji hev qelekî bi ferq in. Ewçend ku gramêra wan ji hev cuda ye. Digel vê hindê ew zarên yek zimanî tên hesibandin wek zarên

Then he comes to point that;

> In classifying a writing system, a sub-dialect cannot be the basis for written language. While the writing system takes place all the dialects contribute to it with its right and pure elements. Therefore in order to understand the language, one focuses on all the dialects and determines them just as they come out of their owner's mouth.[451]

Celadet makes it clear that he did not base his linguistic study on only one or two sub-dialects, it was the opposite way around; he tried to describe a language which shelters all the sub-dialects inside. Then after these explanations, he publishes a story written as it is told in the Cizre region. Reading the story, one realizes that there are some grammatical forms that are rarely seen in Celadet's articles or in those which are redacted by him, like the third singular form of verbs in the present tense;

> "- ev e zilamek li cem min heye, çîrokên qenc dibêjit, û serhatiyên baş dizanit."[452]

If Celadet himself wrote or redacted it, the third singular form of the verbs would be as;

dibêje, dizane

The third singular suffix (-it) in the present tense, which is used in the story, reflects the feature of Botan sub-dialect,[453] and the way Celadet named as a rule is; (-e)[454]

Another feature of the Cizre Dialect that captures our attention in the story is that; the third

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zimanê me. (...) herçî zar di nav xwe de bi zaravan leva dibin. Ferqa zaravan ne ewçend mezin e. Ev Ferq tu caran nagehe heta gramerê. Ferq di bêjan û di awayê gotin û bilêvkirinê de ye."]

[451] "Zaravayê Cizirê", Ronahî, ,issue 20, p.14
["Di senifandina zimanê nivîskî de zaravayek nikare bibe bingehê isûlê nivîsandinê. Lê di pêkanîna zimanê nivîskî de her zarava bi hêmanên xwe ên rast û xwerû-hilanî hevkariyê dike û bi kêr têt. Ji lewre jib o sehkirina zimên li zaravayên wî zimanî hûr dibin û wan zaravan her wekî ji devê xwediyan dertên tesbît dikin. Me jî dil heye em jî bidin pey vê qeydê."]

[452] "Zaravayê Cizirê", Ronahî, ,issue 20, p.14
["I have a man with me, he says good stories and knows good memories. [dibêjit: (he) tells, dizanit: (he) knows]"]

[453] Emîr Celadet Bedir Xan, Roger Lescot, *Kürtçe Dilbilgisi (Kurmancî),* Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 2004, p.191

[454] Emîr Celadet Bedir Xan, Roger Lescot, *Kürtçe Dilbilgisi (Kurmancî),* Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 2004, p.190

singular form of the verb is in the past tense;

> "Çîroka Mistoyê hemikan xelas bîbî"[455]

The standard form of this verb would be as; bûbû[456]

In addition, here is the most important piece from Celadet in which he responds to the sub-dialect issue. In the twenty-third issue of Ronahî, Celadet publishes news from the periodical Gelawêj; 'The Periodical Ronahî and the newspaper Roja-Nû are published in Botan Kurdish Language in Syria." The news goes on by saying that Kurds should support these publications and they give the price of them to buy.[457] Celadet then, thanks the cadre of Gelawêj since they have demonstrated their solidarity. Then he says that he will focus on their idea of Ronahî coming out in Botan Kurdish. He says by Botan Kurdish they mean, the Kurdish variety spoken in Botan, and then gives information about the varieties of the language, which he had already mentioned many times previously. He goes on to explain; 'What is Botan Kurdish?'

> The language which the people of Botan speak is Kurdish, their dialect is Kurdmancî and they have a distinct sub-dialect of their own. The language which is used in publications that come out in Syria is the Kurmancî dialect and their writers are trying to construct a united language. Therefore they leave their varieties and move towards a more eternal and common language. They use words/phrases from other sub-dialects as well. (...) Yes, the owners of these periodicals are from Botan. However, they never reveal their sub-dialect, if they did so they would write in this way; rabî, çêbî.[458]

Deriving some clues out of Roger Lescot and Celadet Bedirxan's declarations, I have come to a conclusion that they were conscious of the varieties of sub-dialects and they worked in a sensitive

[455]" Zaravayê Cizirê", Ronahî, ,issue 20, p.14
[456] Emîr Celadet Bedir Xan, Roger Lescot, *Kürtçe Dilbilgisi (Kurmancî),* Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 2004, p.174 (Now it is widely used as 'bûbû')
[457] Ronahî, "Bo agahdarî", Ronahî, issue 23, p.14,15
[458] As we said before the standard form these verbs would be 'rabû, çêbû'

way in order not to make one variety superior to others. This could be because they were both linguists and ideologists and they approached language in both those ways. In other words, Celadet and his comrades represented both the political and cultural Kurdish elites of that time. Despite feeling that they were the ones who should decide the construction of the language as a proper and grammatically standard one, they did not insist on their varieties of language. The leading cadre of *Hawar* were all from different regions of Kurdistan and as it is known that there was a community of Kurds exiled from different regions living in Syria as well. Celadet Bedirxan took advantage of both this diverse community and his knowledge of different varieties of Kurdish and his experiences of having been to different regions of Kurdistan. This led him to have a wider point of view. He might also have been aware of the fact that he should construct a language that not necessarily all, but most Kurds would find something in it for them to feel comfort with this language. This would help him to unite the nation through language, which was his eventual goal. Besides all this, one, nevertheless, senses the writers' sub-dialect in their pieces, and it is quite normal that this happens. Since each of them had grown up in different regions, different cultures and with different languages, they would naturally express their feelings and thought through the best way they knew; this situation was mostly evident in the words and phrases which they used in their pieces. Zana Farqînî stated that he is sure that Celadet Bedirxan set the rules for Kurmancî beyond his regional dialect, at any rate one could recognize some features of Botan varieties in his writings. He uses some words which are preferred by Celadet Bedirxan although other choices existed; hiner (huner), feqeh (feqî), gehiştin (gihîştin), şikil (şekil), îrû (îro), qeyde (qayde), rûj (roj), dişwar (dijwar)[459]. Those in parenthesis are the forms which are used in the present as well. He also gives some examples from other writers like

[459] Huner:art, feqî: student in religious school, gihîştin: arrive, şekil: shape, îro: today, qayde: rule, roj:sun, day, dijwar: hard

Osman Sebrî who is from the Adıyaman (Semsûr in Kurdish) region; di gundan da (di gundan de). Zana says that he believes that Celadet and his comrades were determined to construct a language beyond the varieties and they were successful in a way, but there was still regional impacts on the writer's pieces which was inevitable.[460]

In line with Zana Farqînî, Samî Tan agrees that although regional impact is obvious in the pieces of *Hawar*, Celadet Bedirxan studied Kurdish dialects and sub-dialects in a detailed way and derived the basic rules of Kurmancî grammar from his study.[461]

Baran Rizgar also mentions that, he believes that *Hawar* was out to find grammatical and orthographic rules. The process of *Hawar* was at the same time the process of searching for grammar and orthography. Every time they came to an agreement of rules, they placed them in their writings. They did not concern themselves with basing the writing system on a specific sub-dialect.[462]

In light of all this information, one can conclude that it was not Celadet's wish to construct a language limited by a regional variety; neither had he wished to make one variety superior to another. The issue of Dialectization however is subject to a more detailed linguistic study which cannot be detailed more extensively in this study.

Another component of the standardization progress is lexicalization, which can be defined as identifying the vocabulary.

[460] Zana Farqînî, writer, *interview*, Istanbul:2012
[461] Samî Tan, writer, *interview*, Istanbul:2012
[462] Baran Rizgar, writer, *interview* London: 2012

Promoting the Language via Enriching the Vocabulary Used in Writing System.

Lexicalization refers to the selection and publication of an appropriate vocabulary. This is a never-ending progress, since the requirements of the language for new words never end. Lexicalization is frequently characterized by purist tendencies which aim at the exclusion of words of foreign origin.

Joshua A. Fishman, explains these purist tendencies as a matter of legitimacy in the demand for autonomy. He claims that for a speech community to demand autonomy and legitimacy for a language that is markedly different from others is not a matter of concern, but it is very hard to establish any kind of cultural or regional independence, when the languages are very similar to each other.[463] In this case a language is lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the out-group and the speech community has to do its very best to differentiate their language better from the other languages in order to prevent becoming or being referred to as a variety or a dialect of another language. The attempts for the purification of the Kurdish language from words of foreign origin can be seen as a matter of this concern.

From the very beginning Celadet and his comrades knew that in order to gain legitimacy for Kurdish language, they had to export the words/phrases borrowed from other languages, find words which had disappeared in daily language but are hidden somewhere like a folkloric song and coin new words where needed. Being conscious of that, Celadet calls out to his readers in the first issue with the following;

> Nowadays in our language there are two deficiencies; the disappearance of some words and the existence of some words of foreign origin in the Kurdish language. Some words totally disappear and some words while disappearing from one dialect can be seen in another dialect. Some words also can be seen in folkloric themes like songs, proverbs.

[463] Joshua A. Fishman, The Sociology of Language. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), 19

> We are after those words, day by day we collect them, classify them and according to requirements we coin new words as the collocation of the ones which exist.(...) At the end of each issue we will publish a dictionary in which the words that are rarely seen in some varieties and those which we collocate. We hope our readers to look up the dictionaries carefully and write their commend and suggestion to us.[464]

In his previously mentioned article Kamiran Bedirxan warning about the danger that Kurdish is under the attack of other languages, says that;

> (...)First of all, there are many words which have passed to our language from other languages. Then many Kurds have forgotten their language and they cannot read in Kurdish. Isn't our language lovely? Don't we have a word for everything in Kurdish? Of course we have!! (...)
> We have to be careful. While speaking, Kurds should not use words which are not Kurdish.[465]

Recalling Johann Gottlieb Fichte's statement that "Whenever a separate language can be found, there is also a separate nation which has the right to manage its affairs and rule itself,"[466] one may comment that Kamiran knew that a language which is under the attack of other languages could no longer resist, if nothing was done.

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[464] "Armanc, awayê xebat û nivisandina *Hawar*ê", *Hawar* issue 1, p. 1-2
["Irû di zmanê me de du texlit qêmanî hene: winda bûna pirsinen qurdi û qetina pirsinen biyani nav zmên Em ci biqin qo zmanê me biqare vegere ser xuritiya xwe û di nav zar û zarawayên xwe de biqemile û bibe zimaneqi teqûz. Di winda bûna pirsan de, pirsin hene yeqcar winda bûne, hin hene ji zareqi qetine le di zareqi din de dijîn û çendeq hene di axattinê de qêm têne gotin le di mamiq. medheloq, çiroq û stranan de têne bihistin, Em li pey.wan in, hin bi hin em wan diêxin dest û disenifînin û gora mehcetê ji ji nuh ve ser awayê hevedudanîna pirsên qurdî pirsinen nuh çêdiqin, Ji bona pêsveçûna zmên, divêt em bendên xwe bi tevayiya van pirsan binivisinin û li pasiya herhejmarê ferhengoqeqê danin û tê de mana pirsên qo di zaran de qêm bûne û yen qo ji nuh ve hatine hevedudanin ji xwendevanên xwe re bidim zanin -Ji xwendevanên xwe hêvt diqim ferhengoqa me kenc bixwînin û di hekê pirseqê de qo fiqreqe wan hebeji me re binivîsînin; heqe ciyoqa pirseqê bizanin, ewa ha ji tev mana û ferkên wê digel ciyoqa xwe ji me re bidin zanîn."]
[465] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Di Dora Hevxistina Zimanan de", *Hawar* issue 3, pp1-2
["Berî ewilî geleq pirsên biyanî hene qo qetine nav zmanê me. Geleq qurd zmanê xwe ji bîr qirine , pê niqarin bixwînin , binivîsînin . Ev hal davîya evxibtana zmanan e . Ma zmanê me ne spehî ye ? ma qurd Xwendin û nivisandinê nizanin ? Ma ji bo her tistî nav û pirseqe qurdi nîne ? Çawan nîne ! ! .(…) Vêca ji bona vejandina zmanê me di vêt qurd hemî, gava daxêvin, an dinivfsînin , bala xwe bidin û pirsên nequrdî tevlî zmanê xwe meqin"]
[466] Quoted in Peter Burke, Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); 164

In one of his articles Celadet[467], addresses his new-grown writers by saying that they do not write in a good and correct way neither do they use a pure Kurdish. He adds that "By pure Kurdish he does not mean a Kurdish without any Arabic words. There can be Arabic words of course, but what is the point in saying 'bînaen" where you can say "ji ber vê yekê"[468]

From these lines, it can be said that Celadet was not such fundamentalist to purify the language in a short time, however he would not tolerate using words of foreign origin when there are Kurdish equivalents for them. Celadet attached a great importance to finding hidden words, it seems like that he was not as willing to coin new words, rather he was seeking for those words through different sub-dialects and folkloric themes. As Roger Lescot underlines "he was not up to innovations". His care to different sub-dialects can be observed in his attitude as well. In the same article he says, "The pieces from new-grown writers are beneficial in another sense, they give us the opportunity of seeing different words, phrases from different regions. There are two ways of promoting the language; articles from intellectuals and articles from those people speaking with their sub-dialects without caring about grammatical rules."

At the end of the article, he calls on the readers to record oral/folkloric literature and send them since "They are very valuable because they both contain words and phrases from today's language and also words and phrases from old languages hundreds of years ago and they are now about to disappear."

Just like the Bedirxan brothers other contributors were also willing to purify the language from imported words and replace them with Kurdish words just as Elî Seydoyê Gewrî suggests;

The Kurdish language will be promoted by choosing words from all the dialects. These chosen

[467] *Hawar*, issue 17, in arabic script part, pp. 2-5
[468] "ji ber vê yekê" means therefore

words will replace the words transmitted from other languages like Turkish and Arabic[469]

The most detailed article about the *Hawar* cadre's attitude towards Lexicalization comes from Osman Sebrî, which appears on *Ronahî's* pages. In this article, he says that some people blamed him and his comrades for making up new vocabulary which ruins the language. He defends the work done by the *Hawar* cadre by saying that blaming them in this way is unfair since they do not easily create words and the first thing they do for the enrichment of the language is that they collect words from different regions and sub-dialects. He adds that when people hear words which they had found out from a sub-dialect, they think that they had made them up because they are not accustomed to those words. He says by collecting words from different regions and spreading them, they aim to unite the language and make the different sub-dialects come closer. Then he reports an anecdote mentioning Celadet Bedirxan;

> Among Kurds, the one concerned the most about collecting Kurdish words/phrases is the owner of Hawar. Hawar's owner once said a very important thing about the Kurdish language "the Kurdish language is like a bag of straw spilled in to the sea. Just as each one of those straws is dragged along by the waves, our words are dispersed through different parts of Kurdistan and our duty is that we have to collect them.' [470]

This quote from Celadet describes the best his understanding of the standardization of the language, he first tries to find if the needed words exist somewhere and tries to reach them. Osman Sebrî then adds that they also did not hesitate to coin new words where there is a requirement. He says they rarely do that and only when it is necessary since they do not want to

[469] Elî Seydoyê Gewrî, "Sehitî – Le bo zimanê kurdî -2", *Hawar* issue 22, p.1
["Zmanê qurdî bi hijartîna pirsên qurdi. ji hemû zaran, û bi xistana wan li şûna pirsên biyanî qo qetine nav zmanê me (tirqî û erebi)."]

[470] Osman Sebrî, "Çend Gazin", Ronahî, issue 20, pp.5-6
["Din av kurdmancan de ê ko pirtirî hemiyan bi civandina bêjeyên kurdî mijûl bûye, xwediyê Hawarê, ji zimanê krdî misaleke gelekî xweş anî bû ko nivisandina wê hêja dibînim. Xwediyê Hawarê dibêje: "Zimanê kurdî, wek ko çiwalek k adi nava deryayê da birijîn'i. Çawan her hebek ji wê kayê bi ber pêlan dikeve zimanê me jî her hinek bi eşirekê re bi hêlekî Kurdistanê d çûne.karê me xwendevanên Kurd ew e ko em wan bicivînin û bidin ber hev."]

import foreign words into their language.

The *Hawar* cadre knew that they had to define the Kurdish language as a distinct one, in order to legitimize the existence of their nation. They were also aware that they had to clear their language from words of foreign origin in order for it not to be called a dialect of another language as Turkish states called Kurdish. Therefore they tried to enrich the Kurdish language by finding the words that were about to disappear, they coined words when needed and they replaced the foreign words with them in order to purify the language.

Alphabet as a Means of Modernization

"This alphabet is a flag, the flag of our literary independency."[471]

Joshua Fishman characterized nationalism by assigning three main characteristics to it: (1) Unification; (2) Authentification; (3) Modernization.[472] Language planning by creating an authentic and unified medium and promoting the nationalistic character of the language of a nation can become one of the tools of modernization. This characterization which has tried to be implemented through the process of the language movement taken on by the *Hawar* cadre can be observed the best via the attempt of the unification and authentification of the alphabet; changing the script from Arabic characters to Latin characters on the basis of the unsuitability of Arabic script for the Kurdish language.

The adoption of a proper alphabet for the Kurdish language, as it was discussed in the second Chapter, was on the agenda of the intellectuals at the very beginning of the 20th century. On

[471] Celadet Bedirxan, [with the pen-name "Xwediyê *Hawar*ê"], Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê, *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5 ["Ev elfabê alek e, ala biserxwebûna heyîna me a edebî ye."]
[472] Joshua Fishman, "The Impact of Nationalism on Language Planning", in *Language in Socio-cultural Change*, Selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil, Satanford: Stanford University Press, 1972, p. 224

pages of Kurdish periodicals, which appeared in the early 20th century the question whether to agree on Arabic, Latin or Armenian letters was discussed by the intellectuals. The argument in favour of the Arabic letters reflected the concern of keeping in touch with Muslim communities and stressing the Kurds religious identity. There were also those who were in favour of using the Latin alphabet, focusing on the necessity of the adaptation of another alphabet which would enable a child to learn reading and writing in Kurdish within a short time. The tendency of the authors, whether they were stimulated by an Islamic point of view, or a western one also made them take sides in these discussions.

The leading cadre of *Hawar*, especially Celadet Bedirxan, concerns were about language not only as a marker of the nation, but also as a tool that both represented the nation and allowed its entrance into a community of nations. The rejection of the Arabic script and adoption of a modified Latin script; introducing a system of transliteration in the Latin script seems to be a product of these concerns.

As it has already been mentioned, in many of his articles, Celadet Bedirxan stressed the importance of the unity of language as a means to unify the nation. He further underlined that the first step of the unity of a language was to unify the alphabet.

> The Unification of the Kurds will come into existence by a unified language. The unity of the language starts with the unity of the letters. I mean it is the first step to provide a common alphabet. Hawar made this alphabet come into exist and did its duty. Now it is the Kurds turn to read and write in this alphabet and those who are illiterate should learn it.[473]

Celadet's main concern seems to be the unification of the language through the unification of the alphabet.

[473] Celadet Bedirxan, "Dibistan", *Hawar* issue 3, in Arabic Script Part, p.6
["Yekbûna Kurdan jî bi yekitiya zimanê Kurdî çêdibe. Yekîtiya zimanî jî bi yekîtiya herfan dest pê dike. Yanî di yekîtiya zimanî e yekîtiya herfan gava pêşîn e. Pesn û spas ji Yezdanê pak re Hawar elfabeyê Kurdî belav kir û ev gav avêt. Edin divêt herçî xwenda, xwendekar û zanayên kurd hene bi vê elfabêyê binivîsinin û nexwenda jî hînî wê bibin."]

In the thirteenth issue, Celadet tells of the process by which he decided to adopt a Latin-based alphabet and put it into practice.

Celadet tells of his 13-year-old story of constructing the Latin-based Kurdish alphabet. He says that he is telling the whole story so that the next Kurdish generation will understand how the Kurdish alphabet was formed with such difficulties.[474]

He mentions the trip that he had with Major Noel to Kurdistan. They were on the mountains of Meletî [today's Malatya] among the Rewan tribe. Major Noel could speak Soranî and back then he was up to learning Kurmancî as well. He was collecting words in Kurmanci. Bedirxan was also collecting folk songs, stories and some other folkloric materials. On the journey, he realizes that MajorNoel could read the notes he took on his notebook easier than him. Focusing on this, he gets the idea that it is easier to read in Latin script. Reading his hand writing he was having some difficulties in distinguishing the letter (û- و) from (o-و) and (î - ی) from (ê -ی). Since Major Noel was using Latin letters he could read easier. So he decides to form a Latin based alphabet for Kurdish and he does.

He says since there are 26 independent letters in the Latin alphabet, all the sounds in Kurdish could not be represented with them. Therefore, at the very beginning, he uses diphthongs formed by himself: ch, ou, ai. However, after a while he did not like these diphthongs so using his knowledge of the Greek and Russian alphabet, he apparently transformed some letters into his own Latin alphabet.

Then he tells an anecdote from his childhood;

> 'As a child I was studying both Latin and Arabic script. While reading, I used to think

[474] Celadet Bedirxan, "Pêşgotingek", *Hawar* issue 13, p.1-3 (This is the prolog for Celadet's book named 'Elfabêya Kurdî' published in 1932)

that in the Arabic alphabet there were sounds which were read but not written, and in the Latin alphabet there were some sounds which were written but not read.'[475]

As a result, he forms a Latin based alphabet for Kurdish but for some sounds, he uses some letters from the Greek and Russian Alphabet. Back in Istanbul, he prepares a book for the Kurdish alphabet and a Kurdish dictionary for publishing. Unfortunately, he loses those copies, and he adds that those copies were used in a court, in Xarpût against him in 1925.

Then during his years in Germany (1922-25) thinking about his alphabet, he decides that Russian and Greek letters seemed bad in the Latin alphabet so he removes them and replaces them with some letters above which he uses '^', called 'bilindek' (riser / amplifier) in Kurdish. This new alphabet includes 34 letters. He goes on by saying that, for a while he used this alphabet for his work, then when the Latin Alphabet started to be used in Turkey after 1928, he realised that there were some differences among the two.

He says as he mentioned previously, he has tried to liken his with the one Turks used so that Kurds living in Turkey would understand their writing more easily.

He finishes the article by saying that while forming his alphabet, he consulted many people including people, who are illiterate and he used many people's ideas. Therefore, this work does not belong to him but belongs to his nation.

"Whatever belongs to the nation is more precious and lovely than everything that belongs to

[475] Celadet Bedirxan, Pêşgotingek, *Hawar* issue 13, pp.1-3 (This is the prologue for Celadet's book named 'Elfabêya Kurdî' published in 1932)
[" Ji xwe di zarotîya xwe de , weqê min di dibistanan de dixwend û hînî herfên erebî û latînî dibûm, tisteq hebû qo min di çavê xwe ra diqir û ji bona herlên erebî, di dilê xwe de digot : ev elfabêqe welê ye qo dengin dide xwendin qo nayine nivîsandin, û latînî yeqcar vajîyê wê ye, herfin dide nivîsandin qo nayine xwendin."]

other"[476]

The last sentence of this article captures one's attention since he calls the alphabet that he adopted from a Latin-script as the one which belongs to the nation. One comes across the same theme in many of his articles as the one that he wrote at the beginning of the third period. In this article, Celadet Bedirxan calls his alphabet, the 'national alphabet';

> On the 15th of May a new Hawar (cry/call), for Kurds was born in order to build the knowledge. That day is a historical day in Kurmancs' literature and social life. On that day, Kurds had a new independent alphabet, rescued from the other nations' alphabet. This alphabet is a flag, the flag of our literary independency. Before that on our tower of literature, outsiders' flags used to fly. On that day Kurds slashed those flags and put their flags up.
> I published the alphabet on which I had been working since 1919. Kurds who learned to read and write in their national alphabet are now enjoying reading their journals and the books published in this new alphabet. [477]

The third aspect of Celadet's alphabet comes as the novelty of it. Celadet underlines the originality of this alphabet many times, so he defines it as the new one; 'We all wanted to have a journal and we all agreed that the Kurdish alphabet should be a new one and all the Kurdish youth must learn it.'[478]

Reading the lines above and recalling Fishman's characterization of nationalism by assigning it

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[476] Pêşgotingeq, *Hawar* issue 13, pp.1-3 (This is the prolog for Celadet's book named 'Elfabêya Kurdî' published in 1932)
["Ji lewra ez vê elfabêyê ji qeda xwé bêtir qeda miletê xwe dihesibînim û pêşqe. şî wî diqim. Ji xwe herçî yê wî ye, ji yê her qesî hêjatir û spehîtir e."]
[477] Celadet Bedirxan (pen-name Xwediyê *Hawar*ê/ *Hawar*'s owner), Sê Tarîxên *Hawar*ê, *Hawar*, issue 27, pp. 4-5
["Tarixa pêsîn: 15 Gulan 1932. Di vê tarîxê de gazî û hawara Kurdan ji dil û devê wan ketine nav xêz û xêzikên çend rûpelan û kovareke kurdî anîne pê. Ji Kurdan re Hawar, Hawareke nû, Hawara zanîn û daiazanînê za.
Ev roj di jiyîna Kurdmancan a ciVakî û edrfliî de rojeke tarîxî ye. Di vê rojê de Kurdmanc bûn xwediyê elfabêke biserxwe, elfabêke Kurdî û ji ijfrê/ elfabiyên miletên din, miletên biyanî xélas bûne. Ev elfabê alek e, ala biserxwebûna lieyîna me a edebî ye.
Belê, elfabiya ko ji sala hezar û neh sed û nozdehan ve ez le dixebitîni, min ew di wê rojê de, di rûpelên Hawarê de belav kir. Kurdmancên ko pê diesiyan û hînî wê bûne îro zmanê xwe bi elfabiya xwe a milî û bêi tu dişwariyê dinivîsînin û kovar û kitêbên ko ketine çapê bi kêfxweşî dixwînin. "]
[478] *Hawar*, Dersxane, *Hawar* issue 17, in Arabic Script Part, pp.2-5

three main characteristics,[479] I draw the conclusion that there were three concerns which pushed Celadet Bedirxan to start with the alphabet in order to awaken a national identity:

1) unity ("The unity of the nation starts with the unity of the language first step of which is the unity of the language"),

2) authenticity ("The national alphabet which is independent from others' 'This alphabet belongs to the nation"), and

3) modernity (A "new" alphabet which meets the needs of the age).

Hawar's cadre was building the language as the medium of resistance against their sovereigns and also as the medium of a common identity - the first step is the attempt to build a united, authentic and modern alphabet.

In the second issue of *Hawar* Celadet writes about the foundations on which he built the Kurdish alphabet:

> 1- The representation of sounds on pages requires letters, namely sounds are represented by letters. In addition, displaying a sound by "ج" or by "c" does not make much difference. The second one is chosen by us so that Kurds living in the upper homeland (North Kurdistan) and those who can read would easily read our books and publications.
> 2- The Latin-script is used for Kurdish so that Kurds can learn foreigners' alphabet easily and foreigners will learn ours as well.
> 3- Each sound should be represented by only one letter; diphthongs must be avoided as much as possible. Pronunciation will be easier with single letters and it will also be easier to read.
> 4- Each sound should be represented by a different letter, namely every letter should represent only one sound.
> 5- Not using new signs, since using them makes writing more difficult and requires more time. And he adds when one forgets the signal, it brings confusion. Therefore he only uses (^) –bilindek- (riser- it rises the sound of the vowels) in the Kurdish Latin based alphabet.

[479] Joshua Fishman, The Impact of Nationalism on Language Planning, in Language in Socio-cultural Change, Selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil, Satanford: Stanford University Press, 1972, p. 224

6- One should prefer an alphabet in which letters are written independently, that is why he does not prefer the Russian or Greek alphabet. [480]

Hamit Bozarslan contends that the adjustment of Kurdish to the Latin alphabet was a sign of the aspiration of Kurdish ex-pat elites to keep relations with the Kurds in Turkey alive and to emulate the Western style of Kemalist Turkish nationalism through the Kurdish nationalist movement. [481] Bozarslan says that those intellectuals using the Latin script wished to be in touch with the Kurds in Turkey and they also wished to seem as westerners like the Kemalists.

Celadet himself as it was mentioned previously, says that a Latin-script alphabet would help them to be in touch with Kurds living in Turkey, so in this sense Bozarslan's comment seems justified. on the other hand, his claim that it was an emulation of Kemalism or an attempt to show that they are as western as Kemalists seems quite unfair, since from Celadet's pen I do understand that the idea of using the Latin alphabet for Kurdish writing had occurred to him earlier then the Kemalist Language reform through the influence of Major Noel who met Bedirxan in 1919. Although it is obvious that Celadet Bedirxan follows what happens in Turkey, accusing him of being an imitator needs more proof. On the other hand, Latinizing the alphabet as stated previously is a component of the process of the modernizing of a language.

The language-building attempt led by Celadet Bedirxan and his comrades was characterized by the absence of a clearly defined and fixed unique framework. The lack of such a rigid framework put them in the forefront of language planning through several efforts like grammatication, lexicalization, orthography, which were also the phases of the codification process. Bedirxan and his comrades believed that through building a fixed language they would awaken the sense of

[480] Celadet Bedirxan, "Elfabeya Kurdî", *hawar* issue 2, pp.5,6 (This is not the exact text, just a summary)
[481] *Hamit Bozarslan, Kürt Milliyetçiliği ve Kürt Hareketi (1898-2000) in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, volume 4:Milliyetçilik, Istanbul: İletişim, 2003, p. 850*

belongingness to the nation, which would eventually lead to the demand for that nation's rights.

Celadet et all were determined to continue to elaborate on the major orientations of language planning, keeping in mind the necessity of saving and promoting the cultural and linguistic heritage supported by the local varieties of language and respecting existing diversity, as well as being concerned with the necessity for national unity.

Following Haugen's explanatory model, one could say that they succeeded in completing and stabilizing the first two phases of development toward the standardization of a language, namely, the selection and codification of the norm. However, for the work of the linguistic planners to be successful, the process of standardization implied two other equally determinant phases; the elaboration and popular acceptance of the norm. These two final phases depended on the political and social conditions in which they took place. Regarding the conditions under which Kurds lived at that time, it was inevitable that they would have to give way to their successors on continuing the process.

Chapter V

Other themes in *Hawar* used in the discursive construction of Kurdish nation

> "Hey Boy! You are the bud of an ancient nation and a big people. Your ancestors are lying down on the pages of history and in the grave of brave and gentle people. You are the son of Kurds, the grandson of Medes and the future of Arian people. Unfortunately, today you are a slave, miserable and weak, you are downtrodden."[482]

Keeping Antonhy Smiths' definition of a nation in mind; "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members,"[483] in this chapter I will look for the non-linguistic components of nationalism that come into prominence in the pages of *Hawar*.

Although one cannot generalize them, common components that appear in the nation building process are "common heritage and language, a distinct territory, shared religion, customs, and history."[484] At this point, nation builders attempt to build a bridge between the past and the present of the nation through language, the culture, the history and a nationalized territory.

The myth of common ancestry, the related myths of the origins of a homeland and pride in the contemporary linguistic, or/and cultural evidence of common kinship, provide the basis for claims of authenticity, and thence to claims to the right of collective national self determination.

The Hawar cadre, apparently, were concerned with uniting Kurds around a common identity whose components vary from historic territory to authenticity. Kurdish intellectuals were aware

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[482] Celadet Alî Bedirxan, Xwe Binas, *Hawar* issue 18, in Arabic Script part, pp.1-6
["Xorto! Tu çîlê milletekî kevn, nîjadekî mezin î. Pêşîyên te di rûpêlên dîrokê, di gorinên gernas û camêran de raketî ne. Tu kurê kurdan, neviyê Medan, dahatiyê Ariyan î. Lê îro ne tu yî, dîlê reben û belengaz, jar û qels, dewletek î û bindest î"]
[483] Anthony D. Smith, *National identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 14
484 Ray Taras, *Liberal and Illiberal Nationalisms*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.40.

of the fact that their people should fulfil the necessities of being a nation. Motivated by this awareness, they tried to make Kurds be proud of their ancestors, homeland and culture. In this chapter I am going to briefly discuss some of the aspects used in the discursive construction of the Kurdish nation in *Hawar* through references to remarkable statements in different issues of the periodical.

1-Homeland: The 'Nationalization' of the Territory

Wounded, because of the sorrow of the homeland,
Do you have any cure for that? [485]

For nationalists, 'the territory' does mean more than a mere piece of land. Indeed, it is a 'homeland', the home the people supposedly recognize (or should recognize) as theirs and to which they allegedly are deeply and sensitively tied to. The territory becomes natural, given, intrinsically and spiritually connected to the people. This territory, however, is not only perceived as "time immemorial"[486] it is also perceived as the guarantor of the nation's history and future. Protecting and taking care of the land is therefore respecting and caring for its ancestors, while guaranteeing a succeeding future for future generations to fulfil their dreams[487].

The reconstruction of social space as a national territory is an essential component of the project of nation-construction.[488] Therefore, from the very beginning, the Hawar cadre tried to determine the boundaries of territory, which they believed, belonged to the Kurdish people from time

[485] Cegerxwînê Kurd, Kula Dil, *Hawar* issue 9, p.6
["Birîndar e, ji ber daxa welat e Gelo derman heye je re, li ba te"]
[486] Jan Penrose "Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought", *Nations and Nationalism* 2002. 8 (3): 277-297, p.281
[487] Jan Penrose "Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought", *Nations and Nationalism* 2002. 8 (3): 277-297, p.281
[488] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000. p. 180

immemorial. In this sense, many articles were devoted to underlining the territory where Kurds have lived 'ever since'.

In the 9th issue, Celadet publishes an article titled 'Welat, Welatinî û Al' (Homeland, Love for Homeland and the Flag) in which he gives the definition of homeland alongside with its importance for the nation;

> Homeland is the territory of our fathers and grandfathers. It is the place where our ancestors grew up, worked a lot to build it and die. The people of a homeland are fellows of each other. Their past, present and future are tied up. Their language, clothing, attitudes and behaviours resemble each other. Their ancestors grew up and died together. [489]

The emphasis of 'homeland' is also purposive as it constructs an image of the 'Kurdish nation' having lived in a determined homeland from ancient times with its culture, language, and history through the success of its ancient dynasties. That is why the definition of the homeland goes together with sanctifying it;

> The people of a homeland always work together, for the sake, construction and freedom of the homeland. Their target is the same. They sacrifice their life and properties in the name of the homeland. [490]

It is put forth by Smith, that the 'nationalist spatial vision' is both 'tangible' and 'practical'; on the one hand, the homeland was a territory on which the nation could be built, on the other hand it contained an archaic "mystery" which releases the sign of antiquity. [491]

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[489] Celadet Bedirxan, "Welat, Welatinî û Al", *Hawar* issue 9, pp.1,2
["Welat erdê bav û qaliqên me ye. , Welat ew der e qo , pêşîyên me li wê rabûne, ji bona avahiya wê xebitîne û li wê mirine. Welat ew diyar e qo em têde seqinîne û rûjeqê di nav axên wî de bêne veşartin. Xelqê welateqî , welatiyên hev in. Borî, hal û dawiya wan bi hev re girêdane. Zmanê wan, girêdana wan, her hal û lebtên wan mîna hev in. Pêşiyên wan li rex hevdû rabûa, rûnistin û mirine."]
[490] Celadet Bedirxan, "Welat, Welatinî û Al", *Hawar* issue 9, pp.1,2
["Hergav bi hev re, dest bi dest, ji bona xweşî, avahî û azahiya welatê xwe dixebitin. Qam û armanca wan yeq in. Ji bona welatê xwe can û malên xwe didin der, xwînên xwe bêperwa dirijênin."]

In this sense, Kurdish people are called to save their homeland from the enemy in order to build an independent country/nation. They were also called to be proud of their ancestors who left this beautiful homeland at the risk of their life;

> This land which is under your feet and the enemy who is against you must be scared by your bravery. Your hearth must be stronger than steel and be your shield.(...)
> Let your red and warm blood flow through your chest! The body and face of a young dead among the flowers and grass of Kurdistan is more beautiful than a bride.
> If you really are sons of Kurdistan, Rise up it is time to fight! Rise up in honor and bravery! God is always with those who are honourable. (...)
> You are the one who will revive his/her country! [492]

Kurdish elites repeatedly called to Kurdish people to get rid of the enemy from their territory:

> Get up my brothers, get up, get up
> We shall rain towards the homeland
> We shall throw the enemies out
> of the country of our fathers and grandfathers.[493]

Geographical considerations lie at the heart of how nations and nationalisms operate. A significant claim that nationalists make on behalf of the nation is that the latter should be 'masters' of their own homelands.[494] The call for throwing the enemies out of the 'lands of the Kurds' ancestor' would be best understood from this point of view. That is to say, the nation should exercise political power over a named territory.

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[491] Anthony D Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Oxford,* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1986, p.184
[492] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, Her wekî hate gotin, Ji deftera Şêx Seîd, *Hawar*, issue 23, pp.3,4
["Divê ew erda qo bin pêyê we de ye û ew dijminên qo di pêşberê we de ne ji mêranîya we bilerizin û sist bibin!.Berde bila xwîna te a sor û germ liser pirçê sînga te de biheriqe!! Beden û rûyê xorteqî mirî di nêv qulîlq û çîmenén qurdistanê de ji bûqan spehîtir e. Qo hon bi rast qurên Qurdistanê ne rabin dema şerî ye! Rabin bi camêrî û mêrxasî , Xwedê tucar rehmet û arîqarîya xweji camêrên xweynamûs û bext qêm naqe!! Tuê welatê xwe vejînî!!"]
[493] Evdirehmen Fewzî, Gazî *Hawar* issue 12,p.3
["Rabin brano, rabin rabin, Ber bi welêt em bibarin, Em derêxin van neyaran, Ji welatê bav û qalan"]
[494] Robert J Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994, p.3

Kurdish intellectuals who care to build national sovereignty over the given territory would base their claims on purported symbolic belonging. In order to do that they should prove the relationship with a given territory since the territory cannot be conceived without reference to its relationship with the nation. That is why there were some pieces in Hawar devoted to drawing the boundaries of Kurdistan. On the 30th issue Osman Sebrî determines the boundaries of North Kurdistan by mentioning seventeen states; 'Bayezîd, Hezarom, Erzîncan, Wan, Hekarî, Sêrt, Mardîn, Diyarbekir, Bîdlîs, Mûş, Xarpet, Dêrsîm, Meletî, Meraş, Entab, Kîlîs û Riha'[495]

In line with this in the 37th issue some information about North Kurdistan is listed. The article intends to draw the exact boundaries of North Kurdistan and the cities he mentions are;

Agirî, Hazerom, Xarpêt, Wan, Hekarî, Sêrt, Bîngol, Merdîn, Diyarbekir, Muş, Bedlis, Roha, Dêlecûg, Meletye, Qers, Sîwas. [496]

In one of his article, Celadet Bedirxan says that he would give information about "Kurds living in Iran". Celadet explains that 'by saying Kurds living in Iran he means the Kurds that live in that part of Kurdistan, which is invaded by Persians.' He says Kurds are on their own territory and in their own country, therefore they cannot be called guests of that territory. He goes on by saying that 'The part of Kurdistan which is now under the sovereignty of Persians is a big territory. The west of Iran from the North to the middle is all part of Kurdistan.'[497]

Boundaries determined by the nationalist elite leaded the nation to be territorialized and the territory to be nationalized and thus it became the homeland, therefore both nation and homeland are constructed through this relationship of mutual belonging.

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[495] Osman Sebrî, "Tarîxa Kurd û Kurdistan", *Hawar* issue 30, p.9,10
[496] Hişyar, "Kurdistana Bakur", *Hawar* issue 37, p.7
[497] Herekol Azîzan, Kurdên Ecemîstanê û Halê wan, *Hawar*, issue 35, p.10

The dominant position occupied by geographic considerations in agreement to delimit the boundaries of Kurdistan flows from the belief that Kurds are Arian.

In his reply to a letter from a reader, Celadet says that the territory between Diyarbekir and Khorassan was the homeland of Arian people, and they spread out from this territory.[498] Referring to the golden ages of the Kurds by stating the origin of the Kurds as being Arian and the ancestors of the Kurds as the Med who ruled on the territory which is claimed to belong to Kurds, would then bring the sense of being proud of the homeland and this would eventually end with the wish to demand the territory back. The specific focus on 'homeland' or 'territory,' would then be an important point for the legitimacy of "being a nation".

The pertinence of the Kurdish language for the advancement of Kurdish nationalism can be further determined when discussed in connection to another factor in Kurdish nationalism, namely, the geographical unity of Kurdistan.

In his article titled as "Tarîxa Kurd û Kurdistanê" (The History of Kurds and Kurdistan), Osman Sebrî criticizes a book written by Emîn Zekî Beg on Kurdish history. He says while drawing Kurdistan's boundaries Emîn Zekî Beg, leaves out some states of Kurdistan like 'Riha'. He says "All the readers of Hawar would know that Riha with all its surrounding regions is Kurd. All the people of Riha speaks Kurmancî. Although the people speak Turkish and Arabic as well, that does not mean that they cannot be named as Kurds"[499]

As it can be sensed from the quote above, language is one of the major arguments on which the Kurds base their claim to a united territory. As a component of drawing the boundaries of Kurdistan, language would be the basis for the Kurds' claim to territory being demanded back.

[498] Stûna Xwendevanan,(Readers' column) *Hawar*, issue 31, p.10
[499] Osman Sebrî Tarîxa Kurd û Kurdistan, *Hawar* issue 30, pp.9,10

In the process of nation-building grounded in cultural nationalism, language is usually used as the main binding factor for the nation, especially in the situation when no common state exists.[500] It also serves as the instrument of enlarging the territory of the nation-state and as the justification of enlarging the numerical membership of the nation.

The reconstruction of social space as national territory is an essential component of the project of nation-building. Various terms have been proposed to cover this process, such as 'territorial socialization' or 'territorial institutionalization', Özkırımlı adopts Kaiser's term and refers to this process as the 'national territorialization of space'.[501]

The nationalization of territory often goes hand in hand with the most significant denominators like maps, flags, and stamps.[502] In Hawar, the concern to draw the boundaries of Kurdistan and addressing the homeland go alongside with praise for the Kurdish flag.

2. Kurdish Flag

Kurdish flag in the sun
What a beauty and grandeur (…)
Rise up, proud hearted, your day is coming[503]

R.J. Kaiser states that nationalists employ a variety of techniques to increase territorial consciousness, and he adds that map-making is the leading one.[504] Beyond this, the boundaries of the historic homeland have been reproduced on stamps, flags, and posters in the minds of the

[500] Tomasz D. I. Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe", in *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (2), 2001, 235-251, ASEN 2001
[501] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement,* New York: Palgrave, 2000. Pp.180,181
[502] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000. Pp.180,181
[503] Herekol Ezîzan, "Alê Kurdan", *Hawar*, issue 5, p.4
["Alê Kurdan di nav roq, Çi bedew û biheybet, (…)Rabe ser xwe ser bilind, Nîzing bûye rûja te"]
[504] Cited by Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement,* New York: Palgrave, 2000. pp.180,181

population to be nationalized. In the pages of Hawar, the sanctifying Kurdish flag is apparent. In many poems and prose, Kurds are called to struggle for the sake of their nation and to raise the Kurdish flag which also is a matter of honour;

> Every nation owns a flag which is a sign of the nation and the homeland.
> A Flag is the honour and respect of the nation.
> The children of every nation sacrifice themselves for their flag to rise above others. (…)
> The downtrodden nations work and fight to expel the enemies out of their territory and to raise their flags above their states. [505]

The deportation of enemies out of the homeland is a theme, repeated in the poems published in Hawar and this theme is mostly accompanied by a swaying flag.

> I will take my Kurdistan by force
> I will plant my flag
> I will take my ancestors revenge
> Move quickly Kurdish youth[506]

Özkırımlı states that these promoted new traditions, such as national anthems, flags and monuments seem to have existed from time immemorial, but in fact all of them are of recent vintage.[507] The encouraged belief was that they had existed forever to make people connected to a time immemorial.

> The brightness of hearth and eye;
> The present from Mum and dad,

[505] Celadet Bedirxan, "Welat, Welatinî û Al", *Hawar* issue 9, pp.1,2
["Her milet xweyîyê aleqé ye.Al nîşana milet û welêt e. Tevayiya heyîna miletan di ala wan de civîyaye. Al namûs, rûmet û bextê miletan e.
Zarowên her miletî ji bona bilindî, u bikedrbûna ala xwe, bêperwa xwe didin quştin. (…)
Miletên dîl dixebitin, xwînên xw dirijênin qo biyanîyan ji welatên xwe bikewirînin û alên xwe li ser qelat û ba¬ jarên xwe ji nû ve daçiqînin."]
[506] Heval Şukrî, Tola Bavan, *Hawar*, issue 22, In Arabic Script Part, p.4
["Dê bi zorê bigrim Kurdistana xwe, Ez ê daçikinîm li ser ala xwe, Hinga tola bavan têxim bala xwe, Zû birot zû birot ey lawên Kurdan, Kurdistan vejandin van her sê mêran."]
[507] Umut Özkırımlı, Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.45

> The hero of fight and battle
> Kiblah of male and females[508]

According to Anthony Smith, 'flags are a particularly useful form of symbol because of their adaptability, the appeal of their colours and emblems, their relative inexpensiveness and ease of manufacture, their hypnotic motion when flying and their long-distance visibility'[509]

> Every nation's flag is in a different shape and colour. The Kurdish flag is from top to bottom; red, white and green and at the middle the sun shines.(...)
> The children of Kurdistan should soon fly that flag.[510]

Umut Özkırımlı refers to Kaiser and draws attention to the role of poets, writers, and artists who have always been significant agents in national territorialization projects through works paying homage to the homelands being constructed. The writers of Hawar would often act as agents in national territorialization and they would project this through their poems – as indicated above- and short stories paying homage to the Kurds' homeland and their flags respectively.

Sibhî Resûl's short story is an example of this;[511] this is a story about a young Kurd who is leading the battle for the independency of Kurdistan. At the end, the young boy dies in happiness since he managed to expel the enemies from the castle and put the Kurdish flag up instead of the enemies' flag. Here are the words that the young boys said to motivate the Kurdish fighters;

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[508] *Hawar*, Issue 8, p.7
["Ronahîya dil û çav; Diyariya dê û bav;Kehremanê ceng û şer; Kiblegahê mê û nêr; Kamiran AlÎ Bedirxan, Ala Kurdan"]
[509] Cited by Umut Özkırımlı, Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.189
[510] Celadet Bedirxan, 'Welat, Welatinî û Al', *Hawar* issue 9, pp.1,2
["Ala her miletî bi çend rengan û bi şiqleqî din e. Ala qurdan, ji jor ber bijêr ve, ser hev, sor, sipî û qesq e, di nava wê de roj diçirise. (…)Divêt zarowên Qurdistanê bixebitin û rûjeqe berê vê rojê hilînin, ber bi ezmanê Qurdistanê ve bilind biqin,"]
[511] Sibhî Resûl, "Dilawerê Çardesalî", *Hawar*, issue 29, p.7

> You brave men, country is like a rose; it sometimes has to be watered with its citizens' blood. I see that our rose has faded; we have to water it with our blood.

Flags represent the presumed distinguishing characteristics of the nation, such as its struggle for existence, its natural resources, and its ethnic or religious composition.[512] Those meanings are communicated to people through their association with specific experiences and situations which reinforce the desired interpretation of the symbol.

3-Glorification of the past and mythologization of historical Figures

> World was lost, for the world there was no god
> With your mind's cry the earth and the sky wake up
> You said for everyone there is one honour and faith
> No matter young, old or the ruler of sword and crown
> Your belief is the right way, your opinion is clear,
> your assumption is good, the good act and the right word
> Your order has awoken the word from a dark sleep,
> You are the first light, (...) of Arian nations[513]

Nationalism is a form of discourse, a way of seeing and interpreting the world. The discourse of nationalism asserts that humanity is divided into distinct nations, each with its own separate past, present and destiny.[514] In order to claim the independency or a distinct/separate state for self-ruling, a nation has to position itself as a distinct nation with a separate past. As Hobsbawm states, nations without a past are contradictions in terms. "What makes a nation is the past; what

[512] Umut Özkırımlı, Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.189
[513] Kamiran Bedirxan, "Zerdeşt û Rêya Zerdeşt", *Hawar*, issue 26, p.9
["Dinê winda, ber cavên cihan Xwedê ne bû, Bi hawara hişê te erd û ezman rabû, Te got ji bo herkesî yek namûs û yek bext, Çi piçûk, çi mezin, çi hakimê şûr û text, Bawerîya te rêya rast e, dîtina pak, Gûmana rind, kirina baş û gotina çak, Fermana te vejand jînê ji xewa tarî, Ronîya pêşîn î, fexra miletên Arî"]
[514] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.2

justifies one nation against others is the past and historians are the people who (re)produce it".[515] Kurdish elites being aware that they had to introduce a past for Kurdish people to feel themselves as part of a common destiny, they announced from the very beginning of the issues of Hawar that they were going to bring the Kurdish history to light.[516]

Accordingly, in his article in Hawar, Osman Sebrî states that;

> The only work written about the Kurds' history was the one written by Bedlîs Emirate Şerefxan up to now. However it does not say enough about the nation's history since it was a kind of emirates' history.
> Without doubt, when speaking about the existence of a nation and that nation not having a history book is a big misfortune. On one side the Kurds did not know about their roots and they did not know about their ancestors, on the other side, Arabs used to say that Kurds were originally Arabic. Additionally some people believed these sorts of things. And it was hard to change this belief.[517]

"The past is exploited by the present nations that have emerged as a direct or indirect consequence of various processes associated with modernization, appeal to the past to validate their existence in the present and project themselves into the future." [518] Sebrî knew that they could not legitimize their existence without an appropriately written history. His statement on the necessity of a history for a nation to exist reminds us of the statements in *Roj-î Kurd*'s pages by Abdullah Cevdet;

> Is there a history of Kurds? With a "Şerefname" a nation cannot save and protect its honour or its historical honour. The century in which

[515] E.J Hobsbawm, 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today', in Mapping the Nation, G. Balakrishnan (ed.), London: Verso, 1996, pp. 255-66. P.255
[516] "Armanca Awayê Xebatê û Nivîsandina Hawarê", *Hawar* issue 1, pp 1-2
[517] Osman Sebrî, "Tarîxa Kurd û Kurdistan" 1, *Hawar* issue 28, pp.5-6
["Çiqas ko mîr Şerefê bidlîsi bi navê şerefnaamê tarîxek, der heqê emaretên dema xwe nivisandiye jî; ev kitêba haan di warên dirokî û zanistî da nabe tarîxa gel an welatekî. Bbi şik di warê heyîna miletekî da, ev tineebûna ham kêmasiyeke mezin e. Ji ber ko, ji alîkî, piraniya kurdan nizanî bûn kok û reha wan ji kû ye, dahêtiyên kîjan miletî ne; an berê bi çi navî bi nav bûne!.. Ji milê din hin dîroknivîsên ereban, bê ko rûmeta zanîna dîrokî bigrin, her ji bo hin ramanên siyasî, koka gelê kurd digihandin erebên qehtanî! Vê gotina han di serê pir mirovan da cih digirt."]
[518] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.35

> we currently live is the twentieth century. A nation which does not have its past history or a future one does not belong to itself. Nations or the persons who do not possess themselves are condemned to be slaves; they belong to others. (...)[519]

Kurdish intellectuals, being aware that a written history has a role in the construction of a "national consciousness", had been searching for the way to make Kurds realize 'their glorious past'.

In line with this idea, Kamiran Bedirxan is also concerned about uncovering the Kurdish history. In one of his articles, he discusses Evliya Çelebi's book in which he mentions many regions of Kurdistan. Kamiran states; "The Kurdish language is on its way, being promoted day by day" and he adds that "on the contrary there is little knowledge about Kurdish history" and he says "writing about Kurdish history is a challenging one". He goes on by saying that:

> In order to have a better understanding of history, one should be familiar with the resources of history. Evliya Çelebî's book is one of those resources.[520]

Emphasizing the importance of history, the references to the golden days of the past both via prominent persons, states, or emirates served the emergence of the self-consciousness of the Kurdish people in Hawar's pages.

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[519] Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, "Bir Hitab", Roj-î Kurd, issue 1 ["Kürdlerin târihi var mı? Bir (Şerefname) ile bir şeref-i târihiyesini veyâhûd târîh-i şerefini tasarruf ve muhâfaza idemez. Yaşadığımız 'asır, şaka değil, yirminci 'asırdır. Mâzîsinin târihihne, müstakbelinin târîhine mâlik olmayan millet kendisine mâlik değildir. Kendi kendisine mâlik olmayan milletler be ferdler melûk olur, başkalarının malı olur".]

[520] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, "Berê Çawan bû, Çend Rûpelên Dîrokî ", *Hawar*, issue 16, pp.2-4
["Zmanê me qetiye rê û rûj bi rûj pêşve diçe. Lê li ser dîroqa Qurdistanê zanîna me hêj geleq qêm e. Nivisandina dîroqa Qurdisstanê xebateqe dişwar û dirêj e. Ji bo nivîsandina wê, berî her tiştî divê em qaniyên dîroqan xweş nasbiqin, rind bizanin û gotin û kiseyên wan bigirin û bixên zmanê xwe. Qitêba Ewlîya Çelebî yeq ji wan qaniyan e."]

Anthony D. Smith, states that for nationalists, a 'golden age' of communal splendour, with its sages, saints and heroes, … "is" … the era in which the community achieved its classical form, and bequeathed a legacy of glorious memories and cultural achievements."[521]

One of the prominent historical figures that appears in Hawar's pages is Salahaddin Eyyubi. In the thirteenth issue, the journal came out with his picture on its cover. In the same issue Celadet writes an article about him.[522]

At the beginning of the article Celadet mentions that in the Great Encyclopaedia, the clause

for Selaheddîn starts by saying 'This Kurd...'

He goes on saying that Selaheddîn was Kurd, stressing that he was great and one of the greatest Kurds. He says if there are no great people, there is no greatness and this is the same for nations as well;

> "Nations are great with their great elites"[523]

He says Kurds have many great people and cites a quotation from a Russian scholar, called Şarmoy;[524] "There are some nations which are known because of their leader's bravery. Kurds are one of them. Kurds' reputation rose and promoted with the victory of Selaheddîn and his brother Melîk el-Adil."[525]

About Selaheddin's greatness and importance Celadet says that;

> The Kurdish nation had brought him on the earth at a time that the world was divided into two parts and the two sides were at battle. Europeans were united against East. (...)After years-long

[521] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* , Oxford,Cambridge: BlackwellPublishers, 1986, p. 191.
[522] Celadet Bedirxan, "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", Hawar, issue 13, in Arabic Script Part, pp. 1,2
[523] Celadet Bedirxan, "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", Hawar, issue 13, in Arabic Script Part, pp. 1,2
["Millet bi mirovên mezin û bijarte mezin in"]
[524] spelled differently as Şamûrî, Şamûr in the text. (I could not find any information about this Russian scholar)
[525] Celadet Bedirxan, "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", Hawar, issue 13, in Arabic Script Part, pp. 1,2

> battle, the Muslim religion was about to fall and disappear. And then from the Mountains of Kurdistan, from the top of our mountains a sun rose; Salahaddin. He defended the religion of Muhammad, therefore he is also called Muhammad the second.[526]

By its nature, nationalist historiography - which tells the story of the nation - embeds actors and events in the history of a group whether or not they had any conception of that nation[527]

The article about Salahaddin can be read in light of this claim, Celadet does not show any proof that Salahaddin acted in the name of being Kurdish but his being a Kurd is enough for Kurds to be proud of him, since he knew that "Nations are great with their great elites".[528] That is why he would finish his article by saying that;

> Salahaddin was a Kurd. Isn't that enough for being a great nation?[529]

Here one shall mention another article about Salahaddin published in Hawar. In this article, Salahaddin is being criticized because he left no mark of his nation. This article is written by Bişarê Segman which is widely accepted as another pen-name of Celadet Bedirxan;

> Selahedîn was a precious, wise, brave Kurd. Europeans could defeat all the eastern countries except for Selahedîn. Yes, Selahedîn was a Kurd, he could have served his nation and the Kurdish people, but he did not.
>
> He could have provided his nation's existence with a strong base and made his nation an independent one, but he did not. He could have made other nations serve his nation, he could have made his nation sovereign instead of others, but he did not.
>
> Again, it was Selahedîn, who could have remembered his Kurdishness even when he was serving the Arabs. He could have said that he was Kurdish in order to make his nation

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[526] Celadet Bedirxan, "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", Hawar, issue 13, in Arabic Script Part, pp. 1,2
["Milletê kurdan Selaheddîn di heyameke welê de anîbû dinyayê ko dinya bûbû du ber û li hev ketibû. … Bi salan ve pevçûn, lehiyên xwînê herikîn … hindik mabû ola Muhammed ji navê hilaniyana. … hingê ji welatên Serhedan, ji çiyayê Kurdistanê, ji sinên zinarên me rojek hilat. Selaheddîn. … ola Muhemmed parast, xelas kir û ji nû ve danî, ji lewre jê re Muhemmedê duwem jî tête gotin."]
[527] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.184
[528] Celadet Bedirxan, "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", Hawar, issue 13, in Arabic Script Part, pp. 1,2
[529] Selaheddîn Kurd bû. Ji bona mezinahiya milletekî ma Selaheddîn ne bes e?

eternal.

Selahedîn, showed allegiance to Islam over his own nation and in doing so he made the elites of his nation be killed for the sake of Islam. He made the Arabic nation sovereign using soldiers coming from the mountains of Kurds.

(...)

Selahedîn left no sign of his nation.[530]

It is worth mentioning that Celadet wrote in a different manner in each article. In the first one, he praises Salahaddin on his bravery and says that his being a Kurd is enough for Kurds to be proud of him. In the second one although he praises his bravery, he complains about him for not serving his own nation. There seems to be two different sets of concerns each of which are the basis for each article. Celadet's judgement about Salahaddin seems to have been reconfirmed. The construction of national history generally reflects present concerns and beliefs about the past. In that sense, the selection process is echoic, not linear: "the present must hear itself in what is selected from the past".[531] The meanings of events may be reconfirmed or reinterpreted. "The timing of incidents or other elements of former times may be altered or given a new significance; even the ordering of the chronology of parts of an individual's or group's past may be rescheduled" [532]

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[530] Bişarê Segman, Çîroka Tarixî: Selahedîn û Richardê Şêrdil (Selahedîn and the lion hearth Richard), *Hawar* issue 51, p.3 (1942)
["Selahedîn kurd bû Kurdekî héja, zana, xurt û zexim, camér û dilqewîn, xudan vén û rûmet. Ewropayiyan tu siltanê rohelê dananîne ber qral û imperatorén xwe, ji Selahedîn péve Belê Selahedîn kurd bû; dikari bû xizmeta mileté xwe, xizmeta miletê kurd bike .. ne kir. Dikarî bû heyîna miletê xwe bêxe ser
hîmine qewîn û wî bike milet û dewleteke biserxwe û abadîn... ne kir. Dikarî bû miletên din di xizmeta mileté xwe de bixebitîne û mileté xwe li .sûna miletên din bigehîne kişwerkişayiyê … ne kir. Dîsan, Selahedîn, serdarê kurd, siltanê ereb dikari bû di xizmeta ereban de jî kurdîtiya xwe car caran bianiya bîrê, ew bigota xelkê û ew nav, nav bi tenê payidar bikira .. . Selahedîn ev jî ne kir. Selahedîn, islamiyet di ser milet û nijadé xwe, di ser- hertiştî re girt û qewmé xwe, bijarteyén mileté xwe di riya islamiyetê de bi kuştin da û miletê ereb bi eskerén ko ji çiyayên Kurdistané dadihatin, gihande kişwerkişayiyê. (…)Di dasilana Selahedîn de tu şopên kurdîtiyé ne diyar in."]

[531] Marvin, C. and D.W. "Ingle Blood Sacrifice and the Nation", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.152
[532] Roberts, B. (1999) 'Time, Biography and Ethnic and National Identity Formation', in KJ. Brehony and N. Rassool (eds), Nationalisms Old and New, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 194-207, p.201, Cited in Özkırımlı, 2000, p.184

In the first article, Celadet wanted Kurds to be proud of his ancestors and to be mobilized with this motivation, on the contrary in the second article, he wanted to remind Kurds that it is important how Kurds want to appear on the pages of history as a servant of their own nation or others'. This is another kind of motivation, which again might mobilize Kurds in the name of their nation.

Bringing up historical figures as a subject to be proud of was also a concern that can be observed through intellectuals' articles published in the periodicals before Hawar. One shall remember the first issue of *Roj-i Kürd* which was also published with a picture of Salahaddin Eyyubi on its cover. In the second issue Salih Bedirxan stated that Eyyubi was the most significant person of the Kurdish glorious past, as he, born in the Tigris valley, had founded a great empire in the valley of Nile.[533] In the second and third issues of *Roj-î Kurd* the life of Salahaddin is published with the signature of M. which is believed to be one of the pen-names of Salih Bedirxan. At the end of the article the writer says:

> Being Kurds, we can be proud of Salahaddin, that wise person, who served for Islam at such a high degree and saved it from the attacks of crusade.[534]

The treatment of 'historical figures,' and the 'golden ages' with their states and dynasties can be seen as an important point for the legitimacy of 'being a nation' since in this way the nation is defined in terms of being an antique one. Another figure, which appears on Hawar's pages, is Zarathustra. In issue 4, with his previously mentioned poem Kamiran Alî Bedirxan directly ties the Kurds' origin to the Med people. Actually, this poem is a kind of manifestation of Hawar

[533] M. Salih Bedirkhan, "Hülya Hakikat Olur" [Dream Becomes Reality], *Roj-î Kurd*, issue 2, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.53,54

[534] M., "Kürt Büyüklerinden Selahaddinî Eyubî", Roj-î Kurd, issue 3, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.79-82
["Kürtlük, islama en yüksek dereced hizmet eden, Haçlı saldırılarının şiddetine karşı onu sarsıntıdan kurtaran, islamın haysiyetini cihanda ilan eyleyen bir alim zatın kendine mensubiyetiyle iftihar edebiliriz."]

since it shelters many important foci of Hawar. In the poem, Kamiran, mentions that different dialects spoken by Kurds define all the people who speak different dialects of Kurdish as being Kurds. He mentions Zarathustra as being the archaic religious leader of the Kurds and his discourse as the archaic philosophy of the Kurds. He also refers to the holy book Zend-Avesta. He mentions some names important for Kurds like, Salahaddin Eyyubî, Ehmedê Xanî etc. He calls the state of Med as the origin of Kurds. He also mentions many geographical places as the homeland of Kurds like, Agirî, Sîne, Wan, Muş, Zîlan.

He says that being Sunî, Alevî or Êzîdî senses not the question, the question is about being a Kurd; 'Kurds are all one nation.'[535] Ignoring the variety of religious beliefs as this statement from Kamiran Bedirxan does, is a general attitude seen throughout Hawar's pages which points out that the Hawar cadre attempted to name the Kurdish Nation as a unique entirety whose religion, language, culture and political identity do not matter. The examples of this attitude will also briefly be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

In an another article Kamiran writes that;

> Zerdeşt (Zarathustra) was one of us and there are still some who believe in him. They are Êzîdîs. Since the first learned man of Kurdistan was Zerdeşt, the knowledge of his path is good for us. From this knowledge our ancient civilization, the highness and depth of our mind, the ingeniousness of the Kurdish Nation come out. Philosophy and writing, I mean the beginning of the development of the world is tied up with our ethnic existence. World friendship and world brotherhood is in our hands.
>
> The name of the book of Zerdeşt is Avesta. The author of it is Zerdeşt.(…)[536]

[535] Kamiran Ali Bedirxan, "Yekbûn û Yekitiya Kurdî" [Unity of Kurds], *Hawar* issue 4, p.2

[536] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, Zerdeşt û rêya Zerdeşt., *Hawar*, issue 26, p.9
["Zerdeşt ji me ye, û îro jî di Kurdistanê de hin kurd hene kop ê bawer in. Ew jî Eyzedî ne. Ji ber ko zanayê kurdistanê ê berê Zerdeşt bû, ji bom e zanîna binyan û qeydeyên rêya Zerdeşt çak e. Ji vê zanînê medeniyeta me a kevn, bilindî û kûraahiyahişê me, dilpakiya MİLETÊ KURD xuya dibe. Ji xwe felsefe û nivisandin ango destpêka pêşketina cihanê bi heyîna nijadê me ve girêdayî ye. Cihandostî, cîhanbratî jî destxetê me ye. Navê kitêba zerdeştiyan Avesta ye. Nivîsevanê wê Zerdeşt e"]

Notes on Zarathustra can often be found in the pages of Hawar - especially in the first period. I believe these references to Zarathustra can be read in two ways. While it reflects the intellectuals' wish to increase the sense of pride and loyalty to the nation by attempting to prove the nation antiquity, it also reflects an attempt at building a national identity relying on a belief other then Islam, which is more archaic. This attempt of theirs, especially the attempt of the Bedirxan brothers' will be discussed in the following part of this chapter as well.

Pîrot, another contributor of Hawar, mentions Zarathustra in his article as the ancient leader of the Avestan people and the Kurds respectively;

> The thing that gives hope and makes hearts happy is that refreshing and new road that you have shown us. At first, the important thing is that you have spread the Latin-based Alphabet. For the revival of the Kurdish language and literature, this is a heroic and great step. [537]
>
> In such a day, when the world is in a revolution and it is in excitement because of the constructing of a new world, we are also going through such days where a thousand year-old belief is now in battle with a a belief of only a few-days old . At the day when Zarathustra leaves the earth and rises to the sky, the –Kurdish Language- Avesta language was forced to take off its lovely clothes and put on some new clothes which did not suit it at all. This unnatural clothing ruined the soul of the language, it spoiled the harmony of the Avesta language and also destroyed the soul of the Avesta Language. By this way the precious pro-Islam history of the Kurds was hidden.
>
> I don't intend to say anything about the old history of Kurds, neither do I intend to unburden my heart. I want to say that the discovery of linguistics shows that an element in building national emotion and the language is tied to the nation. Language is the tool for bringing together national

[537] Pîrot, "Eksî Sedayî Hawar", *Hawar*, issue 10, in Arabic script part, p.1
["Ewey ziyatir hêwa ebexşêt û tên edat betiwana; ew rêgay teceddud û tazegiyeyeke kirdûtane be nîşane. Hewel gewahî eme wergirtin û bilaw kirdinewe tîpî firengî ye. Be rastî bo jiyandinewey kurd û edebiyatî Kurdî eme hingawekî palewane ye."]

> consciousness and mind. Without a doubt, every nation's language differs in a big way in style and meaning. There is the impact of surrounding ethnicities, and national features on the creation of the language. (…)
>
> After all this long time, it is good to know that the Sassanian and Median people have noticed that they should put some new and suitable clothes on their languages. [538]

This is a letter written to the owner of Hawar as a response to the call for the unification of the Kurdish language. He then gives his opinion on uniting the language. More importantly, in this article he mentions that Kurds have a long-time history which is quite unknown. He traces back the history of Kurds to the Meds and refers to the Avestan language as the ancient language of the Kurds. He also mentions that Kurds should know their pre-Islamic history as well, implying that they existed much earlier than Islam. He wants Kurds to remember this fact.

Remembering is a key to a nation's identity. The meaning of any group's identity, that is, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering[539]

Anthony Smith mentions, "Central to myths is the idea that nations exist from time immemorial, and that nationalists must reawaken them from a long slumber to take their place in a world of nations. The hold of the nation lies, partly in the promise of the nationalist salvation drama itself. But this power is often immeasurably increased by the living presence of traditions embodying memories, symbols, myths and values from much earlier epochs in the life of a population, community or area." [540]

On Hawar's pages, there are also references to the Kurdish people who had been persecuted by the Ottoman authorities as their activities were regarded as dangerous. One of those persecuted

[538] Pîrot, "Eksî Sedayî Hawar", *Hawar*, issue 10, in Arabic script part, p.1
[539] Gillis, JR. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship", in JR Gillis (ed,), Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-24. 1994,p.3 (available on Google Books)
[540] Anthony D. Smıth, Natıonal Identıty, Penguin Books: London,1991, P.18,19

was Mîr Bedirxan: In one of his articles written on the history of the world, Hevindê Sorî mentions Mîr Bedirxan with the following lines

> In 1848, Botan's Emirate, Mîr Bedirxan Beg proclaimed his independency in Cezîr and Botan. He fought to spread its ruling up to Sabilax and Mûsil. He took Sîncar, Siird, Wêranşehir, Siwerek and the tower of Diyarbekir as well[541]

Then he goes on to mention other important events and people in the history of Kurds, such as Ubeydullah's battle for the independency of Kurdistan, the foundation of the *Hêvî Talebe Cemiyeti* (Society for Hope) and Komeleyî Xoybûn(Society for Independency). After displaying these important attempts done for the 'independency of Kurdistan', Hevindê Sorî calls for unity in order to reach their goals, mentioning that the reason for the previous attempts having failed was the lack of unity among Kurds.

By returning to an ethnic past, the community will discover a cognitive framework, a map and location for its unfocused aspirations. Similarly, 'our past' will teach the present generation not only the virtues of their ancestors but also their immediate duties.[542] In line with this idea, the Hawar cadre believed that drawing lessons from the past would help Kurds to determine their road and the most important thing that Kurds should learn from their past was that they have to unite.

Not only must the nation boast a distant past on which to base its promise of immortality; it must also be able to unfold a glorious past, a golden age of saints and heroes, to give meaning to its

[541] Hevindê Sorî, Yeqyetîman (Our Unity), *Hawar* issue 15, pp.3,4
["Le sali 1848 mîra mezin Emîn Bedir-Xan Beg le Cezîr û Botan serbexoyî xoy ilan qird we be nawi xoyewe Dirawi le siqe da, we dayiray huqıni xoy ta snûrî wan, Sabilax, we Mûsil bird, we kelay Sincar, Siird wêranşehir, Siwereqy dagir qied, legel kelay Diyarbeqir."]
[542] Anthony D. Smıth, *Natıonal Identıty*, Penguin Books: London,1991, P.140

promise of restoration and dignity.[543] The intellectuals' role was constructing a skeleton upon which a large movement would be built and they also had to build bridges between the past and the present.

4-Call for Unity, Collaboration and Alliance

Hawar, Kurds! Do not do that
Do not forget the enemy's cruelty
Do not sleep day and night
Raise your bravery
Hawar, Kurds! Do not do that
Do not ruin your unity
Do not crash your honour[544]

The unity of the Kurdish people had been the main concern of Kurdish intellectuals from the very beginning of the 20th century. There were many articles in the periodicals like; *Kurdistan* (1898), *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (1908), *Roj-î Kurd* (1913) , *Hetaw-î Kurd* (1913-1914), *Jîn* (1918-1919). Unity had been seen as a crucial step for the promotion of a Kurdish nation. In one of his articles Abdurrahman Bedirxan, through the pages of *Kurdistan*, stresses the importance of nation with the following words;

> Since one cannot survive alone, people should consider themselves in need of the society among which they live. For humans, the first thing to do is to fight for that society to survive and for the honour of the society. To survive the society should not let its homeland be occupied by outsiders. Therefore people are first responsible for their homeland, than the society among which they live and finally their families.(...)Every nation behaves by keeping national concerns in mind and finds individuals interests in general national benefits. [545]

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[543] Anthony D. Smıth, *Natıonal Identıty,* Penguin Books: London,1991, P.161
[544] "Hişyarname" *Hawar*, issue 8, in Arabic script part, p.3
["Hawar Kurdno nekin nekin / Rexba neyar jibîr nekin / Şevû rojê hûn xew nekin. Mêraniya xwe hûn zêde kin / Hawar Kurdno nekin nekin / Yekîtiya xwe wenda nekin / Namûsa xwe payemal nekin. Lawê Findî",]
[545] Abdurrahman Bedirxan, "Kürdlere", Kurdistan, issue 27, from M. Emîn Bozarslan edtion, Uppsala: Deng publication,1991,p.475
["Kürdler! İnsan şahıs itibariyle temin-i hayat-ı hususiyesi için lâzım olan esbabın tehliye ve ihzarına nasıl ki mecburdur, münferiden yaşamak insan için mümkün olmamaısna ve bir cemiyete intisabla yaşamanın mecburiyeti

Years later, Said-î Kurdî called on Kurds to unite;

> To compete with our enemies, the sword of justice is education, the second one is unity of the nation and the third one, working individually.
> Lastly we will; study, unite and collaborate. [546]

Then, in 1913, in the pages of the periodical *Roj-î Kurd* the same concern would appear. In his article, Xelîl Xeyalî, complained about the faction among Kurds;

> Faction has been a sorrow of Kurds ever since. This illness has prevented Kurds from moving forward and improving.[547]

Then he calls Kurds "to gather together, get united and move ahead".

Kurdish elites often stressed the importance of unity and solidarity among the Kurdish tribes and called on Kurds to solve their conflicts and unite against a common goal which they named as revival of the Kurdish nation.

Emphasis on unity, collectivity and collaboration was among the themes brought forward in Hawar's pages as well. In the second issue, Celadet Bedirxan emphasizes the importance of unity for a nation; "nations and states have improved through unity, and they have also collapsed through faction." He likens the unity of a nation with a flood which he says consists of drops. He says 'by uniting, a nation can have the power just like a flood sweeping up the things in front of

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tabiyeden bulunmasına nazaran, her ferdin hayatı, menfaatı, saadeti, mensubu bulunduğu cemiyet ile olacak. (...) her millet, daima menafi-i milliyesini narzar-ı itibara alaraktan hareket eder ve menafi-i şahsiyesini menafi-i umumiye-i milliyesinde bulur."]

[546] Molla Seîd, "Bedîüzzaman Molla Said-i Kurdî'nin Nasayıhı", *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, issue 1, in the eproduction by M.Emin Bozarslan, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, Upsala: Deng yayınevi, 1998, p.164
["Her sê dijminê xwe se xwe rakin. Ew şûrê edlê mearif û xwendin e; ê diduyan îttîfaq û mehebbeta millî ye; ê sisîyan însan e bi nefsa xwe sixula bike û mîna sefîlan ji qudreta xelqê hêvî neke û pişta xwe nadet'ê. Wesiyeta paşî: Xwendinn, xwendin, xwendin, û destê hev girtin, destê hev girtin, destê hev girtin."]

[547] Xelîl Xeyalî [with the pen-name "X"], "Dertlerimizden: Nifakımız",*Roj-î Kurd*, issue 3, in the reprint by Said Ersoy, Istanbul: Weşanên War, 2002, pp.82,83
[" Nifak, kürdlüğün sanki bir ezeli derdidir. (…) onu yürümekten ve yükselmekten men eden işte bu nifak derdidir."]

it.' He finishes the article by saying; 'Our nation's independency depends on the rising of this flood."[548]

Calls for unity and alliance was a theme repeatedly stressed by many writers. Ehmed Hemdî in line with Celadet Bedirxan, underlining other countries' experiences, calls for unity; he mentions that every nation has risen and developed with the help of alliance and unification and gives the example of Bulgaria which gained its independency through the national unification against Abdulhamid. Stating that Kurds have a big territory which shelters a big population and that Kurds are very brave and noble, he says Kurds cannot develop like other nations. He says one must look for people who are educated, intellectual, talented and loyal, adding that when they are found, they must be supported. He finishes his article by saying:

> That's enough! Ey Kurds, ey brothers, we have destroyed in ignorance and slavery for 400 years. That's enough alliance is necessary.[549]

The call for the unity of nations goes alongside with the statements of the need for intellectuals who will lead the struggle as cited above and also the need for a national leader is often stressed. In his article, Bedrî Cemîl Paşa complains about Kurds being without a leader. He says:

> Where more than one person calls themselves the head, there won't be any success. If we are fair-minded, we should choose a leader who is a patriot, wise, intellectual and hardworking. This leader should only work for his country's independency.
> There is a good saying of our prophet, stating 'If there are three people walking, one should be the leader'. We Kurds should have a leader as well.[550]

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[548] Celadet Bedirxan, "Lehî", *Hawar* issue 2, p.2

[549] Ehmed Hemdî, Xuyabûnî Kurdî, *Hawar*, issue 14, in Arabic script part p.6
[„Bes e êdin. Ey gelî Kurdan ey gelî birayan îro çar se salî em li cehalet da li esaretê da êdin çürümiş bûn. Yekbûnî û xuyabûn lazim e."]

[550] Bedrî Cemîl Paşa, Miletê Bêserî – (The Nation without a head/ leader), *Hawar*, issue 32, p.8
["Eşîrek kinga ko bêserî dimîne serek pir dibin, heryek ji wan dibêje ez im ko ez im. Ji lewre ev eşîr kêm dikeve, Heke me heqnas in, din av me da kî bêtir hej ji ji milletê xwe dike, rast e, zana ye, xebatkar e, kêrhatî ye em dê wî bikin serî. Divê ew serek jî nefsmeziniya neke û ji qenciya welat pêştir tu armanc negire. "]

Anthony Smith states that the concept of unity also has a plain and a more confidential nationalist meaning, adding that it refers to the unification of the national territory or homeland, if it is divided, and the gathering together within the homeland of all nationals[551].

In another of his articles, Celadet says;

> This is the weakness of this nation, if they were united, if they had alliance among them, they would not be defeated. Unfortunately, when one of them is in danger or need of help, the others just sit and do not help. When Reşîd and Hafiz Paşa attacked the Kurds, the others did nothing. They waited until one day when it was their turn.[552]

The lines devoted to the emphasis of the need for unity can be read alongside with the emphasis on uniqueness of the nation which refers to the 'nation' existing as the only one or as the sole example with a certain property. Reading the lines, which appear on Hawar's pages, one finds emphasis on being unique, as in Şêx Heyderê Ezidî's article. His article begins with:

> To Kurds who are Muslim, Êzidî, Fileh[553] and Christian![554]

Şêx Heyder, who from his name seems to be Êzidî, says that those who are Muslim, Fileh and Êzidî, without any difference are all Kurds. They are all from the same origin. They speak the same language. The language in which God spoke. He says in their (Êzidî's) holy book it says that "The god spoke in Kurdish which is a sweet language. Therefore Mishefa-Reş (Êzidî's holy book) came down in Kurdish. The writer goes on by saying that:

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[551] Anthony D. Smıth, *Natıonal Identıty*, Penguin Books: London,1991, p.75

[552] Herekol Azîzan, Kurd û Kurdistan- Bi çavê Biyaniyan 3, *Hawar*, issue 24, p.1
["Eve qelsiya vî miletî, heke yek buwana, di navbera wan de tifaq hebuwa ev mileetê ha ne dihate kevandin û mexlûb kirin. Lê gava yek dikeve tenggiyê ên din di cihên xwe de rûdinin, arîkariya wî nakin, Herwekî gava Reşîd û Hafız Paşa dajotin se welatekî ên mayin li cihên xwe diman, bi azahîveke yekrojî şa û kêfxweş dibûn, heta ko dor ggigiha wan jî."]

[553] Kurds call Armenian as Fileh. In some regions it is used for Christians on the whole.

[554] Şêx Heyderê Êzidî, "Kurd Yek in", *Hawar,* issue 21, p.5

> Yes Brothers! Kurds are one and they do not separate. Kurds are like a wrist of a hand. All the fingers are brothers; one is Muslim, the other Êzidî, the other is Fileh and so on. When they are alone, they are weak, you cannot hit your enemy with one finger. However when they come together , they become a punch and hit the enemy in the head and crush it.[555]

He calls to Kurds to be brave. He adds that there is not only one way to be brave, it is not only with the sword. He warns Kurds to help Kurds come together. He says the adults should awaken the youth and the scholars should awaken the ignorant people. He says;

> First, you have to get your independency, and then everybody will remain in their own religion. [556]

Özkırımlı states that "ethnic or national groups are not simply the product of pre-existing cultural differences, but are the consequences of organizational work undertaken by their members. Thus, creative political action is required to transform a segmented and disunited population into a coherent nationality". He adds that this necessarily involves a conscious and deliberate effort to reduce the importance of objective differences within the group while emphasizing the group's uniqueness *vis-a-vis* outsiders [557] Kurdish elites calling for unity in the name of an independent Kurdistan, they also regarded their target mass as a unique entirety, whose religion, language, culture and political identity do not matter. According to them there was an identity which was above all the objective differences, namely national identity. Going farther, they did not hesitate calling Armenians, Kurd or belong to the Kurdish nation.

In his poem, Behmen Zerdeşt also put an emphasis on unity, calling all Muslim, Êzidîs and Christian as Kurd:

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[555] Şêx Heyderê Êzidî, "Kurd Yek in", *Hawar,* issue 21, p.5
["Belê brano! Qurd yeqq in û ji hev venaketin. Qurd weq zenda destî ne. Her şaxê tilîyeqê bireqî wî ne. Yeq misilman, 3e din êzidî, ê dîtir fileh û wisa. Ew yeqo yeqo ne xurt in, kels in. Lê heqe meriv tiliyên di xwe li hev biçeminîne, dibe qulm. Hingî meriv li serê dijminê xwe lêxîne serê dijmin diperçikîne û ji xwe digerîne."]
[556] Şêx Heyderê Êzidî, "Kurd Yek in", *Hawar,* issue 21, p.5
["Rûjeqe berê xwe ji bin destê xelqê derêxinîn. Bila dîsan her yeq liser dînê xwe bimînin"]
[557] Umut Özkırımlı, Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.17

Do not lose your hope ever
Kurds will no doubt unite
There is no faction among them now
They all have united
Êzîdîs, Christian and Muslims
From Sêwas to Loran
They are one body and heart and one cry
They all are on the work
It is six years they have been running blooding
They want freedom and independency
They will either die or live as prince
Kurds do not deserve slavery.[558]

In line with Behmen Zerdeşt, Kamiran Alî Bedirxan says being Sunî, alevî or êzîdî makes no sense, it is a question of being Kurdish; 'Kurds are all one nation.'[559]

Reading through the quote above, one will see that the Kurdish intellectuals' attempts of constructing a unique Kurdish identity did not embody a rejection of varieties, nor the compulsion of them, however their attitude of ignoring differences can easily be deduced from their discourse.

5-Religion

Nationalists in the world have usually emphasized common descent and cultural sameness. In this sense what gives unity to the nation, what makes it a home, 'a place of ardent attachment', is not the cold plot of shared rights, but the people's pre-existing characteristics: their language,

[558] Behmen Zerdeşt, "Ji Xanî ra", *Hawar,* issue 8, in Arabic Script part, p.3
["Bê hêvî mebe binêr tu carek, Kurdên bi şîqaq bibîn mubarek, Îro qe nemaye wan nîfaqek, Pêkve hemî bûne îttifaqek, Taûsî û Îsewî û Musilman, Ji Sêwas heta bigihête Loran, Yek can û dil û yek hawar in, Bi'l-cumle li gaziyê bi kar in, Şeş sal e hem^ş bixwîn dibazin, Azadî û xwebixweyî dixwazin, Ya dê bimirin we ya bijîn mîr, Qet laîq e kurd bimînit êsîr"]
[559] Kamiran Ali Bedirxan, Yekbûn û Yekitiya Kurdî – Unity of Kurds, *Hawar* issue4, p.2

religion, customs and traditions.[560] Drawing a conclusion from this statement, one will see that religion may act as a component of nationalist discourse as well as language. In such cases, nationalists would stress the distinct religion of the nation in order to make a distinct identity. Reading through the pages of Hawar since Islam, which is the religion of most of the Kurds does not appear as a component of Kurdish national identity attempted to be built by Kurdish elites. At least, it is not seen as a key to mobilize Kurds to struggle. Celadet Bedirxan, in one of his often quoted article, says that;

> Language is the basis of our existence. Without language we cannot live and we cannot exist among other nations. That is same for all the nations, especially for those who like us under the ruling of nations who are coreligionist. Oppressed nations can defend their existence from sovereigns by using two weapons; one is religion, and the other is language. If the religion of the oppressed and the sovereign nations are the same, there remains only one weapon and that is the weapon of language.

Celadet goes on in the article by saying that,

> those who are different in both in religion and language do not disappear among Turks even if they forget their language, their religion will help to remain as a separate nation.[561]

He gives Armenian and Greeks as examples of his claim. He says Kurds are in a worse condition about losing their identity, since they have three enemies all of whose religion is the same as the Kurds and these nations are doing their best to transform the Kurdish identity into theirs. In this article Celadet mentions two objectives of national identity and he singles out these two as

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[560] Umut Özkırımlı, Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.23

[561] *Hawar*, Heyîneke Yeksalî, *Hawar*, issue 20, pp.1-3

["Divêt bête zaanîn qo zman jî hîımê heyina me ye û bê zmanê xwe em niqarin bijîn û din av qoma miletan de weq mileteqî serxwe bimînin û paydar bibin. Ji ber qo miletên bindest heyîna xwe ji serdestên xwe bi du tiştan, bi keweta du çeqan diparêzînin: Ol yeq, zman dudo. Lê heqe ola miletê serdest û bindest yeq bibe, hingî çeq yeq bitenê ye, û bend tenê zman e. Lê herçî miletên nemisilman, weq filehên ermenî û yunanî, qo bi babeliqaan ve bin destê tirqan de mane û piraniya wan bi zmanê xwe jî nizanî bûn û bi tirqî xeber didan, dîsan miliyeta xwe windaa ne qirine. Ji ber qo ew û serdestên wan ne ji oleqê bûn."]

weapons to defend a nation's existence; language and religion. It is clear that he does not think he could mobilize Kurdish people through a discourse built on religion since the dominant religion in Kurdistan is Islam, which is also the Kurds' sovereigns' religion. Therefore, he attempts to do it via language rather than religion as it was mentioned in detail in the previous chapter. Either way, it seems that Bedirxan was still aware of Kurdish people's religious/Islamic delicacy.

In issue no 11 of Hawar he writes an article on Şex Evdirehmenê Garisî about whom Celadet says, was a remarkable person in Kurdish history. Celadet says that he had asked Şêx one day, if there was any problem in writing Kurdish in a Latin script according to Şeriat.[562] And he reports Şêx's answer as follows:

> 'Why should be? We have not received God's order in letters nor in symbols, but we have received them in words. And the initial symbols in the Quran have been changed a lot. Therefore my prince you as an intellectual who saw many places in the world, find us an alphabet which can be easily learned by our nation. You have my Fetwa.[563]

Some of the Hawar Cadre seems to have shown a great interest in Zoroastrism, Kamiran Bedirxan and some others considered it to be one of the sources of Kurdish cultural identity. With its Zoroastrian roots, the Yezîdî religion was idealized by Kamiran as the Kurdish religion par excellence.[564] As I mentioned in previous parts especially during the first period of Hawar a great importance was devoted to Zarathustra and his belief system.

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[562] Moslem religious order

[563] Celadet Ali Bedirxan, Şêx Evdirehmanê garisî Çû Rehmetê , Hawar, issue 11, p. 1.
["Ma çira hebît, Xwedê emr û nehyên xwe j ime re ne bi herf û şiqlan, lê bi kiseyê daye zanîn. Ji xwe şiqlên herfên kurana pêşîn ne ji şiqlên îrû bûn. Ji lewra mîrê min, te qo xwendiye û dinya dîtiye, seh biqe û j ime re herfinen welê bibijêre qo miletê me zûqa hinî xwendinê bibît.Fetwa bi min re ye."] (Fetwa is the provision that the religious person can give in any case)

[564] Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, Zerdeşt û rêya Zerdeşt., *Hawar*, issue 26, p.9

However, from the 27th issue and on, which came out on April 15, 1941 a change can be observed. From then on, each issue of Hawar opened with Kurdish translations from the Koran and Prophet Mohammed's sayings. Martin van Bruinessen, comments on this issue by saying that the editors of *Hawar* discovered that the journal had to change its tone in order to find a wider readership.[565] In order to gain influence among more Kurds they had to accommodate themselves to Islam.

Ethnic distinctiveness, namely; shared ancestry, myths, common historical memories, unique cultural markers, and a sense of difference remain a *sine qua non* of the nation. Kurdish intellectuals, aware of this fact attempted to build a common identity through these components in order for the Kurdish nation to become visible.

[565] Martin van Bruinessen, "Religion in Kurdistan", Kurdish Times (Brooklyn, NY), vol. 4 no. 1-2, 1991, 5-27

Conclusion

The defeat of the Ararat Revolts (1926-1930) drove the Kurdish intellectuals to change their strategy, abandoning the ‘sword’ for the ‘pen.’ The leaders of the *Xoybûn*, in particular Celadet and Kamuran, believed that there was a compelling need to solidify the feeling of belongingness in the Kurdish community and they decided to do that by promoting the Kurdish language, spreading reading and writing in Kurdish, and ensuring the rebirth of popular literature.

Those intellectuals who came together around Hawar wished for the nation to awaken from ‘their sleep of ignorance’. Alongside with trying to infuse opinions of the necessity and value of the language and education to their readers, these intellectuals lay the foundation for creating a Kurdish national identity.

Ethnicity based on language has not been a rare occurrance, many national movements have proclaimed that national identity is also closely connected to language; and they even developed a set of policies, which follow this principle. Language has been an implicit ‘social passport’ used by national elites in both making the world recognize the nation as a separate one and mobilizing the people around a common identity.

Here I shall call attention to a paradox, which comes along with the national discourse based mainly on the existence of a 'distinct language' unifying a certain group (nation). Nationalist intellectuals, in order to legitimize their nationalistic claims, while pointing out this supposed 'distinct language' as the proof for an 'existing' collective identity, they also attempt to fulfil this claim by constructing a language to serve this target; a language which functions as a cement for the construction of the common identity. In many nationalist practices while the intellectuals used the language as a sign of the nation’s perpetuity and eternity, they also codified the language as a

tool of communication in the public sphere. This study aimed to display that it was enforced for the Hawar cadre as well.

It was significant for Kurdish intellectuals to promote the Kurdish language into a united one, as a medium through which Kurds would feel the sense of a common identity and owing to which, attention would be drawn to the Kurds as a distinct people who have the right to have national status. That's why from the very beginning of the 20th century Kurdish intellectuals have undertaken the mission of promoting the language to a 'proper one' that meets the needs of the age.

As I have discussed in chapter two there have been several attempts before *Hawar* to put this desire into practice, however it was the Hawar cadre who successfully came through with this mission. The reasons why the Hawar cadre was more successful varies; the intellectuals who appeared around the periodicals before *Hawar* were more busy with political issues which is quite normal regarding the period during which they were living. As I have mentioned in the first part of chapter two, there were instant improvements among the society and they had to catch up with the discussions carried out among and around them. During that era, many things were unclear just as the Kurdish people's future position. There were also many conflicts among the Kurdish intellectuals, especially in the post-war period. While some of them supported an independent Kurdistan, others were trying to find a way for autonomy. They also did not feel secure due to the pressure coming from the Turkish authorities and were faced with the threat of being exiled at any time. On the other hand, the Hawar cadre knew what they had to do and they were aware of the limits of the things they could do. After a long period of experience, they knew that they could not achieve their goal unless they postulated a national identity around which Kurdish people would be mobilized. They were also aware that there was no way to start an

armed struggle since they had just passed through a defeated revolt. Aware of all these factors, they put forward a planned agenda and moved forward to carry it out. For the elites, language was the medium through which they could communicate and provide a national consciousness.

In 1932, *Hawar* began to be published mostly in Kurmancî and Latin-based script. The reason why the *Hawar* cadre chose to promote a Latin-based script for Kurdish, seemingly, was a practical one: most Kurmancî-speaking Kurds were citizens of Turkey where a Latin-based script had recently been adopted through a language reform process, and future generations would be taught to read and write Latin rather than Arabic script. Thus, according to those Kurdish intellectuals, especially Celadet Bedirxan, to expect them to use the latter for Kurdish was plainly unrealistic. Celadet Bedirxan believed that using the Latin script would also make reading and writing in Kurdish easier and this would eventually supply a more solid base for education in Kurdish, furthermore as I discussed in the fourth chapter, no one can reject the desire for modernization in the attempts of the latinization of the alphabet. Therefore *Hawar* was conceived as a means of modernizing the Kurdish language by introducing a system of transliteration in the Latin script.

Hawar set the standard for written Kurmancî; both in the form of the Latinized alphabet that it introduced and the grammatical rules, which were prescribed by Celadet at all, and most of the contributions were written in the Kurmancî literary standard, which was later widely used by its successors.

Hawar's aims included the promotion of a renaissance of Kurdish popular literature and the production of teaching materials in Kurdish. Furthermore, it provided a discussion board for a number of topics, which ranged from Kurdish linguistics, grammar and dialects to social,

cultural, and literary issues. The journal had a remarkable influence on the formation of a standardized Kurdish language, especially on the standardization of the Kurmancî dialect.

Besides aiming to counter the denials of existence of the Kurdish language, Kurdish intellectuals also aspired to display that it is qualified enough to serve modern needs such as literature, governmental issues, an education system, science and so on. Therefore, Celadet and his co-workers called out for Kurdish intellectuals, notables and youth to devote their energy in contributing to the development of the Kurdish language. The calls were bodied as studying it, reforming it, standardizing it and making it known to the world.

Celadet felt that he had to legitimize, promote and reconstruct the language so that it would be a solid tool for the expression of a national sentiment that is appropriate to promote a specifically nationalist goal.

Language was used by Kurdish intellectuals to develop a specifically nationalist goal of making people aware of their culture and instilling a collective pride in them. In order to achieve these goals the language should be a united/standardized one.

As it is displayed previously in the second chapter the Kurdish press first raised the question of unification of the language early in the twentieth century. A number of Kurdish journals set pages aside on this issue and tried to develop suggestions about it.

As in other multi-dialectical situations, basically two solutions have been suggested – either mixing the Kurmancî and Soranî dialects or choosing one of them. Two views have also developed on the methods of mixture. One envisions a spontaneous process through free use of the dialects; the other emphasizes the need for planned effort.

Both competing solutions, coined as 'the compositional thesis' and 'the unitary thesis'[566] by Haugen[567], are obstructed by, first and foremost, the political division of the Kurdish speech community[568]. What has further aggravated this situation is the absence of freedom of linguistic and cultural contact. The linguicidal measures by Turkish and Syrian states and the political isolation of Soviet Kurds have obstructed unification of the dialects. Furthermore, in Iraqi Kurdistan, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, Soranî dialect passed through a separate standardization process.

The Bedirxan brothers were influential in the development of Kurdish as a normative and standardized language. First, they opted for the spoken Kurmancî and later they fixed the norm by working on the Latin alphabet, handwriting and grammar. Following Haugen's explanatory model, one could say that they mostly succeeded in completing and stabilizing the first two phases of development toward the standardization of a language, namely, the selection and codification of the norm. However, for the work of the linguistic planners to be successful, the process of standardization implied two other equally determinant phases: the elaboration and popular acceptance of the norm. These two final phases depend on the political and social conditions in which they take place. Regarding the conditions under which Kurds lived at that time, it was inevitable that they would have to leave it for their successors to continue the process. Throughout the non-governmental standardization process, lack of authority restricted the exchange between implementing and stabilizing institutions to a rather peripheral position.

[566] According to first thesis a standard language is, or should be, based on a composite of dialects, whereas in the second latter case a standard language is or should be based on a single dialect
[567] Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation", in *American Antropologist*, 68 / 1966, p. 922-935
[568] Kurmancî divided among five countries and Soranî is divided among two countries

William Safran addresses intellectuals as those who have the role to legitimize, upgrade, and restructure their language in order to turn it into a proper tool for the expression of a national sentiment that is capable of being politicized.[569]

As I have discussed previously, *Hawar* had a clear nationalist orientation. It stressed the importance of the Kurdish cultural heritage, of education and language as a means of self-identification for the whole Kurdish community. Not only did it introduce a very influential writing system which is now widely used among Kurds, it also opened a dialogue among various strata of Kurdish society in Syria: among the educated classes (notables, intellectuals and professionals) on one hand and the urban and the tribal elites on the other. The contributors of the journal, who had different backgrounds, believed that an acknowledgment of a shared Kurdish cultural heritage was essential to the ending of old quarrels between the aghas and the urban intelligentsia, thus paving the way to an effective national mobilization of the Kurds.

William Safran has pointed to the role of language as an important instrument for protecting collective identity and communal cohesion.[570] I also believe that Kurdish intellectuals buckle down the language as a reflex to protect their existence and they believed that the only weapon they could use then was language in order to resist against the danger of 'disappearance'.

About the function of nationalist movements, Breuilly points out three functions: Cooperation, mobilization and legitimacy. Cooperation is, for common interest, uniting the elites who are opponent to the sovereigns; mobilization is providing the participation of the groups left out of

[569] William Safran, "Nationalism" in Joshua Fishman, ed., *Handbook of Language and Ethnicity,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.82
[570] William Safran, "Nationalism" in Joshua Fishman, ed., *Handbook of Language and Ethnicity,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.80

political progress to support the movement; legitimacy is legitimating the movement's target.[571] The Hawar cadre, displaying all the mentioned functions pointed out by Breuilly, repeatedly underlined the importance of cooperation and alliance. They sought for a way to mobilize all the layers of society by trying to construct a national consciousness and by using various arguments, they attempted to legitimize their national target in the eyes of both Kurds and outsiders.

Having stated that the Kurdish Language is a basis for Kurdish nationality and therefore is an outward sign of the Kurds' 'peculiar identity', it is worth mentioning that this distinction, especially in the case of Kurds' relation in regard to the Turks, Persians and Arabs, coincides with the claim that the Kurds constitute an 'ethnic stock different' from that of the three other nations, and thus linguistic classification in these three instances is also an ethnic one. The political outcomes of ethnic nationalism can therefore be determined in the evaluation of Kurdish nationalism.

Ethnicity may have as its binding link an awareness of common culture, common ancestry, shared history, generally a common language, and in many cases the myth of kinship may also be present. Kurdish ethnic and linguistic identity, which may also be labelled as 'Kurdish nationality' was a diffusion of a cultural self-awareness among a linguistically related people.

Ethnic nationalism[572] refers, at core, to a sense of community which focuses on the belief in myths of common ancestry; and on the perception that these myths are validated by contemporary similarities of physiognomy, language or religion. As I have discussed in the fifth chapter, the myth of a common ancestry is another component in the discursive construction of Kurdish Nationalism, which involves the claim of a direct ethnic link to ancient peoples posited

[571] John Breuilly, (1993) , *Nationalism and the State,* Manchester: Manchester University Press, second edition, reprinted in 1995, 1998, 2001, P.382.
[572] Variously labelled as ethnic, collectivistic, organic nationalism**.** **(**Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement,* New York: Palgrave, 2000. p.22)

as the originals inhabitants of the Kurdish regions. Arian or the (Arian) Medes are considered to be the ancestral people of Kurds by Kurdish elites. Alongside this genealogical link a stable geographical reference is sketched out for a Kurdish region drawing the boundaries by referencing the places where Kurdish is spoken and where the people considered to be ancestors of the Kurds used to live.

The reconstruction of social space as a national territory is an essential component of the project of nation-construction. Therefore from the very beginning, Kurdish elites rejected the political boundaries which Kurds were subject to and they based their national arguments on a nationalised territory namely Kurdistan. In addition, as I discussed in the fourth and the fifth chapters, Kurdish intellectuals have persistently pointed to the direct relationship between the linguistic, ethnic and geographical unity of the land in order to bolster their claim to the territory of Kurdistan proper.

In my study, I intended to trace the development of the leading discursive component of Kurdish Nationalism, namely the Kurdish language. I chose the period, during which the journal *Hawar* was published, since I believed that without having a better understanding of that period which laid the foundation for a standardized Kurdish language through which a collective identity would later be constructed, it would be impossible to understand the debates carried out among the Kurdish intellectuals at present. I hope this study will supply a deeper understanding on the discussions carried out contemporarily and will also set the basis for future studies.

After all, I have found out that language both functions as a means of creating a common national identity and it also supplies a social resistance space for oppressed languages to resist against the oppressions as in the case of the language movement carried out by the Hawar cadre.

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